

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BOSTON

DATE: 5/21/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-89179)

SUBJECT:

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1 - Boston (100-23224) (HARVEY O'CONNOR) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-32048) (JAMES IMERIE) (RM)

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EGA:bfh
(24)

SEAL OF THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FBI - NEWARK
MAY 21 1959
FBI - NEWARK
J. T. Dwyer, Jr.

NY 100-89179

Identity of Source

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal)

Description of Info

Report of conversation between

[redacted] and EARL PRICE,
4/22/59

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Date Received

4/27/59

Received By

SA [redacted] (written)

Original Located

[redacted]

A copy of informant's report follows:

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/22/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP,USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO
IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

8- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
(1- 100-3-88) (CP,USA - Factionalism)
(1- 100-3-81) (CP,USA - International Relations)
(1- 100-3-89) (CP,USA - Strategy in Industry)
(1- 100-3-76) (CP,USA - Youth Matters)
(1- 100-3-75) (CP,USA - Negro Question)
(1- 100-) (Cominfil United Steel Workers)

2- Baltimore (Info) (RM)
(1- 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)

2- Birmingham (Info) (RM)
(1- 100-743) (HOSEA HUDSON)

2- Boston (100-20779) (Info) (RM)
(1- 100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)

1- Buffalo (100-16449) (Info) (RM)

1- Butte (Info) (RM)

6- Chicago (Info) (RM)
(1- CG A/134-46)
(1- 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
(1- 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
(1- 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
(1- 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

3- Cleveland (100-17257) (Info) (RM)
(1- 100-421) (GUS HALL)
(1- 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)

4- Detroit (100-2050) (Info) (RM)
(1- 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
(1- 100- (FNU) MC ADOO)
(1- 100- (HELEN WINTER) p. 97)

1- Indianapolis (100-11093) (Info) (RM)

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100-80638-1611

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 - (1- 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
 - (1- 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 1- Milwaukee (100-42-I) (Info) (RM)
- 1- Minneapolis (100-1878-P) (Info) (RM)
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On 4/26/59 and 4/27/59, CG 5824-S* advised that the following people were in attendance at the NC, CPUSA meeting held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC on 4/25, and 26/59: An asterisk indicates attendance on 4/26/59.

<u>4/25/59</u>	<u>4/26/59</u>	<u>4/25/59</u>	<u>4/26/59</u>
JAMES ALLEN	*	HY LUMER	*
WILLIAM ALBERTSON	*	[REDACTED]	*
HERB APTHEKER		GEORGE MEYERS	*
PHIL BART	*	[REDACTED]	*
ERIC BERT		[REDACTED]	*
EMANUEL BIJM	*	GEORGE MORRIS	*
[REDACTED]	*	[REDACTED]	
HOMER BATES CHASE	*	THOMAS NABRIED	*
MORRIS CHILDS	*	BURT NELSON	*
JESUS COLON	*	WILLIAM L. PATTERSON	*
BEN DAVIS	*	PETTIS PERRY	*
EUGENE DENNIS	*	IRVING POTASH	*
CHARLES DIRBA		CONSTANTINE RADZIE	*
BEN DOBES	*	AL RICHMOND	*
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	*	[REDACTED]	*
BETTY GANNETT	*	[REDACTED]	*
SI GERSON	*	[REDACTED]	*
[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]	*
FLO HALL	*	[REDACTED]	*
GUS HALL	*	JACK STACHEL	*
LEM HARRIS	*	[REDACTED]	*
DOROTHY HEALEY	*	BOB THOMPSON	*
[REDACTED]		PAT TOOHEY	*
HOSEA HUDSON	*	RALPH TURNER	*
JAMES JACKSON	*	LOUIS WEINSTOCK	*
ARNOLD JOHNSON	*	[REDACTED]	*
[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]	*
ANTON KRCHMAREK	*	CARL WINTER	*
SAM KUSHNER	*	[REDACTED]	*
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	*		*
MICKEY LIMA	*		*
[REDACTED]			*

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It is noted TED BASSETT, STEVE NELSON and WILLIAM WEINSTONE attended only on 4/26/59.

The following are the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting as reported by NY 2588-S* on 4/25 and 26/59.

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FIRST DAY SESSION
April 25, 1959

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Most of the comrades know that BOB THOMPSON is scheduled to surrender sometime next week. I believe that most of the National Executive Committee (NEC) have come to appreciate the very important and positive role which BOB has played. At an appropriate time in the meeting comrade BOB will make some remarks on behalf of the NEC. He will also take the occasion to raise before you fellows a few practical steps which even at this late date might alter the conference. THOMPSON will be unable to attend most of the sessions of this meeting of the NC because as some of you know he has been seriously ill for over $2\frac{1}{2}$ months. He has been hospitalized, has an infection and today is being examined by a neurosurgeon.

I mentioned this so the comrades will know why he is absent. The Executive Committee proposes that the order of business for this very significant meeting shall be first:

1. A report by JIM JACKSON dealing with his observations together with a report on the international significant of the 7 year plan. We propose that discussion on this report shall continue throughout the day.

2. In the evening session there should be a preliminary report on the progress of the NEC to the coming National Convention.

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3. Informational report from the Trade Union Commission.
4. Informational report on the fund drive.
5. Recommendations of the NEC, CP, USA, regarding the question of moving the national headquarters to Chicago.

The entire session tomorrow shall be devoted to the youth question and the conclusions to be drawn by a report from comrade (HY) LUMER. I move the adoption of this agenda. Before we start I would like to recommend as chairman of the first session comrade BURT NELSON.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

I would like to propose that at opening of this meeting we send greetings to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, HENRY WINSTON and GILBERT GREEN and that we have the proper committee appointed.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

Comrades it was my good fortune to be present at the most historic experience, to be a guest at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union and to share this experience with the leaders of some 33 million communists from all countries of the world. It was a great personal privilege and the most memorable in my entire life.

The famous report of comrade KHRUSHCHEV referred to as the 7 year plan which in its first phase is a blueprint for the establishment of communism in the vast areas of the world. As I said I not only shared this experience with some 1300 delegates representing

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all portions of the (world) . . . but also with such legendary leaders of communists and workers parties of most of the countries of the world. Seventy-two of the eighty-three CPs of the world were physically present as guests of the 21st Congress.

It was my pleasure to chat on occasion with KEI-WER-SUNG (PH), the leader of the government and head of the heroic CP of North Korea, with CHOU-EN-LAI . . . with the brilliant 34 year old leader of the CP of Indonesia . . . and many many others.

The focus of the whole world for that week of January 27 was on the report of comrade KRUSHCHEV and the exchanges on that report which took place at the convention. Let me indicate a few of the elements of this imaginative, profound and bold 7 year plan. This Congress as you know was called the Congress of the Builders of Communism. Indeed the examination of some of the particulars of the 7 year plan and some of the discussion which took place around it fully confirmed this.

Now as to the significance and elements of the 7 year plan from the standpoint of defining the status and tendencies of the Socialist world. In reference to the economic, social and cultural as well as political features I want to cite some of the facts and figures. First I will indicate . . . the grand dimensions of the vast construction and reconstruction program. First of all before the Convention had assembled there had taken place since November a thoroughly organized discussion throughout the Soviet Union and enlarged sections of the Socialist world on the draft of this 7 year plan. Some half a million people made contributions in written form to provide suggestions, criticisms and addendum to various propositions put forth. Many were incorporated into the final draft of the plan and many more were referred to appropriate parties for further implementation.

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Now to get some indication of the dimension of this vast construction project of communism, it calls for an 80 per cent increase in industrial output in 7 years. Investment wise as much capital is being put into productive activities or will be placed at the disposal of the production plants between now and 1965 as was invested in the economic construction of Socialism from 1917. For example, the rate of growth will increase at something like 11 per cent a year in many aspects of the economy. This is almost 4 times the rate of growth over the last 10 years of our economy. The standard of living and the cultural life was to me just a measurement in charting and defining the tempo of development at the 21st Congress.

The 7 year plan calls for a boost in agricultural production of some 70 per cent and one must see this figure against the background of present accomplishments. At the present time the gross production of Soviet agriculture (exceeds?) that of the United States in all major commodities. Now in some 3 or 4 years the per capita individual productivity and production of agriculture in the Soviet Union will exceed that of the United States. By 1970 the per capita productivity in the Soviet Union will have caught up with and surpassed the individual per capita productivity of the highest achievement of the capitalist world system, that is the achievement in the United States. All this will be reflected in terms of increase and in standard of living of the people.

At the same time already in progress is the reduction of the working day to 7 hours in most industries and a working week to 5 days in most industries and at the end of the 7 year plan this will be universal.

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Comrade GEORGE MORRIS and myself had the opportunity to visit some of the shops in which there has been introduced total mechanization. For example, in the ball bearing plant in Moscow, that shop turns out ball bearings from a few micrometers in size to some 8 tons in size and not one is touched by human hands. Comrade MORRIS has written about this and will produce a book in pamphlet form. We had occasion also to visit a automotive plant in which some 81 or 87 operations were performed without a human hand touching the motor blocks. The whole emphasis is to place men in the position of being master of the new tools and where the burdens of labor will be removed and that labor can than become a joy. Man is the master of machinery rather then machinery being the threat to the well being of man.

For example, we speak of an investment in the next 7 years of three trillions rubels. When you pass the 100 million mark and begin talking in units of trillions, numbers become confusing and escape the imagination.

I was speaking of how this vast construction program will reflect itself on the life of the average Soviet citizen in terms of improvements in standard of living. It was stated that the median income and standard of living of the Soviet citizen will surpass the United States in 1970 and will approximate it by the end of the 7 year plan in 1965.

Now this will be reflected in many ways. Some (15?) million apartments are in the plan for construction in the cities and some $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 million dwelling units will be built in the countryside. This construction is taking place with the most modern techniques, with an application of the best world

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experience in construction methods and in comfort for the dwellers. One can see what this means then in the terms of adding to the social consumption of the people. Part of their standard of living is not reflected in their wages but it is reflected in a wealth of services provided by the government. Such services for example hospitalization, schools, welfare aids in terms of pensions, readily accepted mass outlets for cultural enjoyment . . .

We had occasion to visit some of these mass palaces of culture like the Balky (PH) Palace of Culture in Leningrad. It approximated in those dimensions the (first floor?) of Radio City. On the occasion while I was there some 1800 young people were dancing and there was a theatre going in another section and all kinds of activity. Also I had the occasion to visit the cultural center at the Zill (PH) Automobile Plant in Moscow. Such things have great symbolism to us in terms of standard of living. One thing that struck me in Moscow and other cities was the vast number of television antennas and in the new plan there is a program calling for 14 million additional television sets.

For example, I had occasion to drive often in the new Chata (PH) car, a two tone job. Now they have a big program for producing small automobiles in large numbers, for the general public. What is in the future for the labor force in the Soviet Union is uninterrupted growth. Sixty-six million will be the number of workers in the Soviet Union by 1965,

Now another feature of the economics of the 7 year plan is the balancing out of the development in various areas of the vast Soviet territory with over a 100 nationalities, national groups which make up this vast people. Forty per cent of all this investment of some three trillion rubels will go to those areas like

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Siberia . . . , those areas far from Moscow, those areas inhabited by the formerly oppressed peoples. In certain areas whole cities have risen in the last 5 years since the opening up of new virgin territories in Siberia.

One of the theoretical propositions put forward in KHRUSHCHEV's report, which we will refer to a little later, was that the (laws?) governing the move from capitalism to socialism, that is the law of (even?) development will not apply and does not apply to the move from socialism to communism. That from socialism to communism all nations in the socialist camp and all nations and areas within the Soviet Union as well will move to communism at more or less the same time . . .

There will also take place a vast flowering of the cultural reformation of Soviet men and women. At the present time there are some 31 million people or there abouts and in the final years of the 7 year plan there will be some 50 million in school. As it is now the Soviet Union leads the whole world in the number of graduates in engineering, sciences, arts and so forth. This figure will be doubled during the course of the 7 year plan. On one occasion when I was in Leningrad I saw posters advertising lectures in philosophy . . . A great ideological offensive is going on in the Soviet Union to reshape and expand Socialist morality, Socialist morals and Socialist ethics. To emphasize and dramatize the question of work and service of the whole people and not just for material motivation. . . .

KHRUSHCHEV put forth a slogan that Communist men must emerge today in order to achieve Communism at the most rapid pace and to this end a great renaissance in the arts and culture is being unfolded. KHRUSHCHEV signalized other changes that will take place in the transition from Socialism to Communism. What are some of these

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features? New attention to the problem of the super structure, new attention to the problem of the character and role of the State. Already there has taken place within the Soviet Union much advanced thought and many practical measures to introduce important changes to correspond and conform to the requirements of Communism in the (feature?) and cultures of the State.

Comrade KHRUSHCHEV pointed out that in the Soviet Union there are no longer political prisoners. This was to dramatize one the features emphasized and signalized for continued attention for the coming years to prepare all of the objective and subjective conditions for Communism. That is to progressively eliminate the internal police functions of the State, police functions in terms of (punitive?) functions, transform the methods of discipline within Socialist society as it approaches the threshold of Communism. The functions of police powers to be taken up by private institutions, non-State institutions, collective institutions of the people. KHRUSHCHEV emphasized that already there has been a great reduction in the size of the police apparatus within the Soviet Union. This process will continue and the political basis for it is not only for the preparing all the conditions for Communism but also because Socialism has been established in the Soviet Union. There are no hostile classes to create class contradiction . . . therefore there is no basis within the Soviet population for mass challenge to the State.

Does this mean that there are no contradictions in Socialist society or within the popular organs in the vanguard CP? No! There are contradictions and there will continue to be contradictions but they are not of a counter revolutionary nature . . . These contradictions do not require police measure to resolve them. These contradictions are resolved ideologically

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and with the accompanying administrative changes. What illustrates this better then the case of MOLOTOV and the others . . .

Now let me say a few words about the significance of the 7 year plan on the Socialist world, the Socialist camp as a whole. Thus far I have spoke primarily on the future of the Soviet people and in summary it means that life will be richer, more abundant by 1970 for the Soviet people than is the experience of many people in the whole world. This has great significance for the whole Socialist camp. It will create that position of strength and position of abundance in material values which will make it possible for developing new norms of cooperation. . . .

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Remarks of JAMES JACKSON (Cont'd)

On the proposition proposed by Comrade KHRUSHCHEV that after attaining socialism all countries will move into the realm of communism in more or less the same general time. This has its economic foundation in the socialist-communist exchange of goods and services and of determined aid to the less developed areas of the socialist world. One could elaborate on this in considerable detail but that summarizesⁱⁿ essence the significance to the socialist world of the Seven Year Plan.

Now let me deal in more detail with the question of the decisive importance of the Seven Year Plan in the struggle for world peace. I want to quote from KHRUSHCHEV's report to the 21st Congress several excerpts. Some of them may be repetitious but the point is that the whole report was to demonstrate the correlationship....for achieving the threshold of communism in a measured and defined period of time....

All those who spoke at the congress took pains to demonstrate the relationship between two tasks, the first task of mankind the development set by the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union. KHRUSHCHEV said and I quote, "The Seven Year Plan is a fresh manifestation of the Leninist peaceful policy of the Soviet Union". This quote is from page 86 of KHRUSHCHEV's report. It will play a very big part in solving the cardinal problem of our time, the preservation of world peace. The importance of the plan lies first in its being infused in the spirit of peace. A state which undertakes a giant program of building new factories and other enterprises and which allocates nearly four hundred million rubles for housing and public buildings and sets for itself the task of substantially raising the living standard of its people, that state seeks peace not war.

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"He" (KHRUSHCHEV) said further on page 162 of the report "Comrades the 21st Party Congress is outlining magnificent plans of peaceful construction. The work of the congress (mirrors?) the will of the party, the whole Soviet people to carry out the plans of communist upbuilding and do their utmost to preserve the peace, to insure peaceful coexistence of countries of different social systems. That is the chief feature of our congress. If they look at this objectively, even the advocates of the cold war will see that the plan our congress is adopting aids....to insure peaceful coexistence and consolidate peace the world over".

And further on page 97 and 98 it is stated that we act upon the principles that relations between states with different social systems must develop on the basis of peaceful coexistence.... We shall never renounce our views and we have no illusions about our plans....of changing theirs but this does not mean that we should go to war.... In each country it is the people themselves that shape their destiny and choose their (method?) of development. The Soviet Union has no intention of forcing its....on anybody. We guide ourselves by LENIN's principles that revolution can not be (exploited?).

Further on page 100 he says that we welcome the efforts of all Americans....to end the cold war and support peaceful coexistence and cooperation between our countries. Sympathy for the American people whose industrial genius and efficiency are known to all the world and are very strong in our country. There are, of course, quite a few difficulties along the path of peaceful coexistence. In following this path both sides will have to showmutual understanding, great restraint and if you like, great patience. An extensive development of world trade will do much to slacken

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international tension and strengthen mutual confidence.

The Soviet economic program of peaceful development for 1959-1965 offers good prospects for the development of Soviet foreign trade with all countries. We can at least double its volume. We offer the capitalist countries peaceful competition and our offer goes beyond the time limit of the Seven Year Plan. Nations can see that our plans are plans of peaceful construction. We call the whole people to work harder for peace and that on our part we shall do everything in our power to insure peace for the whole world.

Continuing JACKSON stated that on page 167 of KHRUSHCHEV's report it is said that we want to compete with the capitalist countries in peaceful fields.... We want each system to show its economic and spiritual powers in the process of this competition. To put it in the language of businessmen and one that is more understandable to representatives of the capitalist world, let us lay out our wares, the socialist and capitalist world and let each system show where and how long the working day is, how much material and spiritual benefits are received by the working man, what housing is provided, what chances he has of getting an education....

We think that the social system which gives the people those material riches, the system which provides the people with unlimited opportunity of spiritual growth is progressive--that it is the system of the future. We want, therefore, to compete in the production of industrial goods such as meat, butter, milk and other consumer goods rather than in an arms race and the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Then let the people judge for themselves

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what system best satisfies their requirements.... Continuing JACKSON remarked that KHRUSHCHEV also said that there will be a real possibility for eliminating war as a means of solving international issues and this possibility has a definite relationship to the successful fulfillment of the Seven Year Plan. Indeed when the USSR becomes the leading industrial power of the world and when the Chinese Peoples Republic becomes a mighty industrial power and all of the socialist countries will produce more than half of the world's industrial output and this will be the case at the end of the Seven Year Plan. At the present the socialist world accounts for some one third of the total industrial output.... Backed by the might of the socialist camp peaceful nations will then be able to compel militant imperialist groups to abandon their plans for a new world war. In this way a real possibility of excluding war from the life of society will take shape even before the universal triumph of socialism, even while capitalism is still existing in some parts of the world....

Now a further point in this connection is the significance of the Seven Year Plan.... Great emphasis was paid by speakers at the 21st Congress and was also dramatized in more than one place in KHRUSHCHEV's report of the new moral force and the new power of attraction that socialism will have in the thoughts and eyes of the workers of all capitalist countries as it approaches and surpasses the material achievements of the highest capitalist country in the world....

Continuing JACKSON remarked that his visit in the Soviet Union for the first time was a revelation of the mass well-being of the people. I was impressed by the riches and the availability of all kinds of consumer goods....

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Now I want to turn to one other aspect of KHRUSHCHEV's report which will have mutual significance and usefulness to the world Marxist movement and to the CP in all countries, not that this is a new proposition, its principles have been argued rather vainly in the courts by the leaders of our party and argued before public opinion but these propositions have received new authority and are further fortified by the resolution of the 21st Congress. "He" (KHRUSHCHEV) said for example, I propose at this point that the relations governing the CP are relations of brother to brother, are relations of equality. That all parties are equal. That there is no such thing in ... of the CP of a (leading?) party.... That each party has to answer to its own working class in the first instance and has to answer for itself to the world working class for its conduct.... That each party is independent and each party is equal to each other party.... "He" (KHRUSHCHEV) defined the relationship of the Soviet CP to the other CPs as one of the foremost detachments of the world Marxist....not the leader of world Marxists. In many respects the CP of the Soviet Union is superior in experience on many questions and its historic role will endure forever. It was the first party that led the working class to power and therefore it is also the first party that will take its people to the heights of communism....

Continuing JACKSON stated that it was reaffirmed at the 21st Congress that as far as the CP of the Soviet Union is concerned the principles as enumerated in the (12) party declaration are the principles which are the common denominator of ideological oneness of the Marxist Parties of the whole world. These are the ideological roots of the Parties.... Like the source of strength of the working class is unity of workers

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so / ^{the} source of strength of the communist movement of the world is its volunteer, fraternal, solicitude and friendship in unity one with the other.....

Now Comrades a few words about certain theoretical questions of important new interests and emphasis that appeared in KHRUSHCHEV's report. In a speech at the Kremlin reception in honor of the Iraqi (PH) Republic Delegation KHRUSHCHEV said that each ideological and practical struggle against... anti-communist is an indispensable compliment.... He illustrated this by saying that communists every where are loyal sons of their own people....and that when LENIN returned to Russia from abroad after the February revolution the reactionaries called him a German agent but the people did not believe this lie... Therefore, he said in reference to the situation in the Middle East that Mr. NASSER will gain no laurels by playing the role of fighter against communism. It might for a time bring him into favor with certain circles in the imperialist states. KHRUSHCHEV said in his report on page 104 that we do not count these chieftains of anti-communism when we speak of joint working class action.... It is high time that the representative of all trends in the labor movement to brush aside the (mountebanks?) of anti-communism and to sit around a table and work out a mutual acceptable platform of working class action in defense of their interests of peace.... It can not be achieved without struggle against particular samples of anti-communist poison in the ranks of the people.... Millions of people usually associate fascism with HITLER and MUSSOLINI but we must not rule out the possibility that fascism ... (will arise?) in forms other than those which have already discredited themselves in the eyes of nations.... Broad sections of the people--all democratic--

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hands
forces can and must join/against fascism
where ever it asserts itself. In so doing it is
very important to stamp out all vestiges of
sectarianism which is liable to disrupt the mobil-
ization of the masses against reaction and fascism.
The unity of the democratic forces and above all the
working class is the most reliable barrier to the
fascist threat....

Continuing JACKSON stated that at the 21st
Congress it was said that the imperialists are intensi-
fying their political stratagems in propaganda using
the so called communist threat as a weapon of intimida-
tion in an effort to split the new states of Asia and
Africa.... JACKSON stated that it seemed to him a most
interesting proposition, the fact that the fascist
danger is not historically past. It is ever in
the economics of imperialism...so the fascist danger
is not passive.

Now following the 21st Congress there have
been a number of occasions in which KHRUSHCHEV and
others have aired some of the problems facing the
national liberation movement as defined in the relations
between the Soviet Union and Egypt and the relations
between the Soviet Union and Iraq.... Comrades there
are, of course, many other propositions from time to
time our party like communists all over the world will
find....premises for study and examination.... Now
one final point on the theoretical question. That is
the question of the main political danger confronting
the marxist and socialist movement. That the main
danger of the world marxist movement remains as was
signalized in the 12 party declaration, the 20th Congress
and reaffirmed and documented in the 21st Congress and
the center of this is Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav CP
and the Yugoslav Communist League succumbed to the

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international pressures of imperialists in the area of ideology and departed from Marxism and Leninism... Now we come to the relationship with Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union... Where the policies of the Yugoslav Government are serving the interests of world peace, the interests of people, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia stand together. Now the role that has been played by revisionists is to transform contradictions into conflict which will dismember and weaken the world socialist camp. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV in his report on page 105 said that if further consolidation is taking place inside each CP after the November Conference ...the international communist movement is gaining strength.... The miserable handful of opportunists and individuals who have lost their bearing....which polluted the communist movement rose to the surface in the heat of the struggle and was then discarded. The contention of the revisionists have been refuted by the practical struggle of the working class and by the entire process of social development.

JACKSON stated that after KHRUSHCHEV signalized that this represents the most serious and continuing threat, at the same time KHRUSHCHEV said there is also the need to combat dogmatism and sectarianism.... JACKSON stated that a considerable length of time was taken to illustrate the negative consequences of both of these dangers.

Continuing JACKSON said that he would now like to say a few words concerning conversation he had with certain delegations. "We" had the opportunity to speak with many delegations to share our thoughts and become acquainted with concrete problems with a number of comrades particularly Latin America, Middle East, France, England and Italy.

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Among the subjects of conversations and exchanges was for example the Jewish question. I had opportunity to go further into conversation on this question but from my observation and conversations in the Soviet Union in the sense that we speak of national questions--there is no Jewish question in the Soviet Union. The Jewish people are historically and patriotically involved in every aspect in the rebuilding of socialist life today.... Now at the same time and for several years there will and is taking place as I indicated before that 40 per cent of the investment in cultural and capital development will take place precisely in those areas of special national formulation.... As to the Jewish question the policy of the CP in the Soviet Union endorsed by the Soviet Government and joined in by the Jewish people is that the strategic outlook of the development of the Jewish people is integration....

There is great interest in the Negro question in the United States and there is much appreciation of the approach of our party. Now in conclusion a word about how or what the concensus of view of the outstanding marxists of the world to our party. I have talked with many comrades from many countries of the world. This was further attested to in the tribute paid to our party.... Our party in the eyes of the world of leading marxists is considered a good party with a collective Marxist-Leninist leadership. We stand very close to the (top?) with the problems we face today. They see American imperialists as an octopus with tentacles at the throat of the whole world... Nonetheless our party is not singular and alone. We can't count....in a certain sense the lack of adequacy of members because we are part of a great confraternity of dedicated, resolute and determined men and women.

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Dedicated to the proposition that in the name of man, war must not break out again in the world. In the name of humanity, the whole superstructure of our society must be readjusted to conform to the needs, the human needs, a society of socialism and communism. We are part of that and, therefore, we are stronger through the relationship of forces.

Remarks of the Chairman

It is now 1:00 pm and we have two more speakers on the same topic. It is to our interest that we will recess now one hour for lunch.

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Chairman

Comrades, the vicissitudes of life in capitalist America has created a situation which has us alter our agenda here this afternoon. Comrade CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), would you develop the situation of interest.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Comrades, the NEC has bestowed a great honor upon me. It has called upon me to convey to you the feeling of the members of the NEC with respect to our beloved comrade BOB THOMPSON. There exists the possibility that comrade THOMPSON will have to serve the remainder of his sentence of a year and a half. Now I often think of BOB (THOMPSON) as I think of the Party, that is that he is indestructable. I recall a year ago March when we were sitting in a meeting of the NEC and word was received that BOB may have to be back in jail in a couple of weeks... We are not as yet resigned to the fact that nothing can be done. BOB has been a very sick man and during these past 18 months he now faces the possibility of surgery, a sickness which was inflicted upon him as a result of beatings received while in the West Street Detention House.

We are going to pursue this question of medical parole and I think it would be fitting if this meeting of the National Committee take this as a very serious matter. To bring to bear in the community as much sentiment as possible regarding a medical parole. In this connection the medical profession ought to be enlisted to assist in this type of campaign.

(WILLIAM Z.) FOSTER was indicted in Foley Square and comrade FOSTER has as yet to be called to trial. Not because the government does not desire it but because there are physical and medical factors involved in his case that prevents the government. There are no less physical factors in the case of comrade BOB THOMPSON. We want to call upon the National Committee, District Organizers and various comrades in political work to take very seriously,

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a campaign for medical parole.

Now comrades, a few words about BOB. I personally did not know BOB too well prior to going to jail. I heard of him from afar but I didn't participate in the policy councils of the Party. I never knew him very intimately but I have come to know him in the last 18 months under some very trying circumstances. Circumstances of which I am sure all of us will appreciate, as a consequence of the internal struggle that has gone on in the Party for several years. It is the judgment of the NEC and my personal opinion that comrade THOMPSON has been one of the major factors in welding comrades together from diverse political persuasions into a team. I think that BOB has done his job excellently.

Now going to jail is no picnic and no one wants it. But BOB's chief concern was not the question of going to jail. His chief concern was whether he would be around to work in our midst to help solidify a leadership to break the Party out of its isolation and to restore it where I am sure all of us want it to be.

Comrade THOMPSON, may I say to you on behalf of the NEC that your labors for the past 18 months have not been in vain. This Party is going to continue as in the past until it has broken out and become a serious factor in American life.

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

I want to thank comrade CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and the Executive Committee. I want to thank also the members here not only for a lot of general things but also for the warmth and comradeship that continues which is one of the fine qualities which our Party has and which no other organization has.

Now, I think you have already been informed that the National Executive Committee has been meeting in the past

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few days and in the course of these meetings we had our first preliminary exchange with respect to the coming convention. The NEC is going to recommend to this meeting of the National Committee that our July session of the National Committee be the one that we devote essentially to working out the character of the convention and the pre-convention discussions, the questions which will arise in regard to the main doctrine.

It was felt, however, that it would be helpful if this session of the National Committee meeting be given the gist of the thinking of the National Executive Committee with respect to the convention. I want to try to give you as best I can the thinking as it relates to the general character of the convention as we see it. First of all, the NEC is very much of a mind that the leadership of our Party as well as the membership must be highly conscious of the national and world situation in which our Party will be holding its convention. There is a great possibility that a decisive faction of the American working class, the steel workers, will be engaged in a very important battle. A very good probability of a strike struggle. We will be entering this convention when the integration struggle will really begin to break down the Jim Crowe structure in the South. It will be a time when in all probability the growing peace forces of the world will once again be called upon to exert their maximum strength to preserve the peace of the world. And in our country there will be an even greater need for our Party to play a role in the organization of the peace sentiment of the American people.

It will be on the eve of the setting of the stage for the 1960 national election. It will be at a point in world history when the world shaking effects of the 21st Congress, of which comrade JACKSON reported this morning. Bearing this in mind, the NEC is very much of a mind that we must not have in our Party, above all its leadership, any concept that we are entering into this pre-convention period unmindful of the struggles of the working people of our country.

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On the contrary, we must approach this pre-convention period as a serious party of the working class, understanding that what we do in the pre-convention discussion as well as our actions at the convention will have real meaning not just to the membership of our Party but also to the masses of working people of our country. We as the leadership must enter this period with this in our consciousness and high in our understanding. We must enter this convention period with a sober and basic concept of where our Party is today. We must have the confidence that comes from the fact that our Party has demonstrated its capacity to prevent its destruction by revisionism. We must enter this period with full confidence that our Party has met and stood this major test. We must do so with the realistic understanding that while we have made some gains but that this as yet is only a small beginning.

This convention and pre-convention period must be where our Party displays its capacity to develop its theory, its tactics, its policies and its forms of organization. This is the supreme test of the convention and the period that lies ahead.

Now with these things in mind, what are some of the characteristics. Our NEC feels that first and foremost that the convention must above all be a forward looking and outward looking movement in the life of our Party. The dominant characteristics of everything that our Party does and says in the course of the convention must center the attention of the Party on the real problems at hand. That in the areas of trade union work, youth work, electoral activity, Negro peoples movement must bring into being in this country a mass expression of the sentiment of the people for peace. These are then areas where our Party eyes must be focused.

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Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON - (CONTINUED)

We must center our attention on writing the answers for the strengthening of the role of the organization. We feel that only if as a responsible leadership of a responsible Party can we insure that in this period can we make a leap forward to a new stage and a new level of work.

The NEC also feels that this convention period will be a period that can result in the establishment of a new relationship between the leadership and membership in our Party, where much of the past is replaced by the strong confidence and bond that should exist between the membership and leadership in the CP. We feel that this can be done if we insure bold and real leadership. If we make real creative progress in the elaboration of the policy, tactics, the organization and forms of work of our Party. We feel also that it is good to require something else and that is the redevelopment in our Party of an ability to utilize in a constructive fashion the weapons of criticism. This is one of the indispensable for the changing of the relationship and the solidifying of a different kind of a unity in our Party.

I think we are reaching a point in the life of our Party and can further reach it in the pre-convention period. We can eliminate factionalism, factional attitudes and approaches. We feel we can begin to reach a point where it is possible for any member of the leading committee of the Party to say "I" made a mistake and then analyze the reasons for this mistake. The Party as a collective will learn from it and come forward. I feel a great need for this in our Party. I feel I also have made some pretty serious mistakes in this period, but I have tried to learn from them.

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You cannot learn from isolation. You have got to learn from an ability to bring out into the open and talk about it. For example, when I first came out of prison I operated with the wrong concept. I wrote a letter to "The Worker" in which I gave a certain estimate of (JOHN) GATES' where I disagreed with his policies . . . But this was erroneous, one that did not see this phenomena of the right as a class process. As a weapon being used not just be individuals, not a individual proposition, to destroy the CP of the USA. I have learned something from that and think we all could profit from the mistakes I made.

We must develop this concept as a Party to say when the occasion demands that we have adopted a wrong policy, based on wrong estimates and that we are correcting it. Every Party has to do it and we have to have that capacity.

I think for example when I look over this past period that there are a number of questions that we have to be taking the initiative on to correct and rectify. I am sure that in the course of the pre-convention period we will have occasion to consider such problems.

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Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSONG (Cont'd)

It was this revisionist ideology that was being relied on and utilized by the ruling class as a weapon. On the question of democratic centralism wrong ideas were developed.... So we feel that in this period these questions can be dealt with and self criticism can be indulged in but in a practical way and not just to tear down our party or to tear down individual leaders of our party. It should be in a way to strengthen the party and the collective leadership. Further we feel that this convention period will be a period when we put to an end the cancer of factionalism in our party. A period when we bust up existing factional practices in groups and this is very important.

We feel that this will be a period of great creative search for a new style of work and new forms of organization resulting in a much bigger and more effective role. Now I feel that if we can achieve above all the first objective of making this party a forward and outward looking one that we will make this year of the 40th anniversary of our party a party of a deepening of party consciousness, of love of the party and a willingness to sacrifice to build our party. A period where our party begins to move into the American scene as a serious, responsible Marxist party of the working class.

Now in this connection, the NEC wants to propose to you that you authorize the NEC to form certain working committees that will operate between now and the July National Committee meeting in order to prepare a number of main documents that will come before the July National Committee meeting. We are not proposing the

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setting up of convention committees. These committees will set up material for the July National Committee meeting and they will go out of existence when the tasks are done and the material is put before the committee. The main committees we have in mind will be working committees to prepare a main resolution, something in the nature of an officer's report to the party, on the work of the party during the period between the two conventions. A negro resolution for the convention based on the already substantial resolution of which you are all familiar with, a constitution committee and a special working group, the program committee in order to whip that in to shape for consideration by the National Committee. Together with this will be needed a sort of general resolutions committee that will handle a number of questions. We would like to be empowered by the National Committee to set up these working committees in order that we will have the material on questions of the convention by the time of our July meeting.

Now I would like to conclude by saying that what I tried to do was to give the gist of the thinking of the NEC. Undoubtedly I have not fully reflected....certain differences of approach and formulations. Above all I want to emphasize to you that what I said is not binding on anyone. This is not a binding report being put forward. It is an effort to give the gist of our general outlook....

Remarks of the Chairman

We would probably be well advised to act on the reports and recommendations that BOB has given us by virtue of the fact that this morning BOB has to return to his doctor to find out how soon he will have to submit to surgery. For this reason we interrupt the agenda and

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the chair believes it is wise to act on his report now. Chairman announced that the report was accepted and authorized the NEC to set up the proposed committees. We will now return to the agenda which brings us to Comrade MORRIS CHILDS.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS who requested a special point of interest

Comrades this is to do with the recent lynching today in Mississippi. After consulting here with some of the comrades we thought it would be very appropriate of our National Committee to set forth at once a telegram to the President of the United States. Many of you may not have heard but a young Negro, age 23 named PARKER was seized from a jail from Poplarville, Mississippi, by a lynching mob and according to the latest papers they have neither found PARKER or the lynch mob.

Now much can be said about this and a great deal more will have to be done by our party both in its own name and in its united front connections with many Negro, labor and democratic organizations. We feel as Americans and people interested in human rights and because of our understanding of the negro people that we should react immediately. I am sure all of us realizes that the conditions under which this lynching took place are quite different from years ago before we had such a powerful movement of the Negro people... As well as before we had such a powerful socialist movement in the world led by the Soviet Union and the colonial liberation movement.

Today more than ever I think we have to regard

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the lynching of one Negro as carrying out the brutal system of oppression against the whole Negro people. I think we have to regard this as a national disaster and a national disgrace and in this spirit I propose a roughly drawn telegram. The telegram reads in part as follows. The seizure of M. C. PARKER, a young Negro worker, from jail by a lynch mob in Poplarville, Mississippi, is a brutal and inhuman act and a national disaster and disgrace. This outrage is not only to PARKER but an attempt to smash the heroic movement of the Negro people with their labor and white supporters recently demonstrated in the historic youth march to Washington. A continuing lynch terror against the Negro people and the repeated defiance of law by white supremists in the South reflect your failure to make an unequivocal declaration, moral justification to enforce the Supreme Court decision in regard to segregated school systems. We join with the Negro people and all other labor and democratic forces in urging immediate and federal action against the perpetrators of this crime. We hold you personally responsible for the protection of the life, liberties and constitutional rights of PARKER and of the Negro people in the deep South.

Informant advised there followed then a general discussion regarding certain phraseology to be used in the final draft of the telegram. It was proposed that they adopt the rough draft of the telegram in principle with the understanding that it will be gone over and gotten out to the President as quickly as possible. The matter was voted on and accepted unanimously.

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Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

Comrades I had the good fortune to travel and visit some of the socialist countries and to be present in the Soviet Union as a visitor to the 21st Congress. As the comrades know I have travelled there in the past, made many visits to the Soviet Union in certain stages of history prior to the Five Year Plan and after. This visit was an experience unlike all the others. The work of the 21st Congress undoubtedly will have a profound political effect on every country of the world including ours.

I want to say that the people are hard at work entering into this new socialist stage, the beginning of the building of communism. The congress was aptly described as a congress of the builders of communism. I associate myself with the report of Comrade JACKSON and therefore will not go into some of the problems in detail. I do, however, want to give you some of my reactions to the events resulting from the congress as well as some of the plans needed to be understood by us and the American people.

All I want to say^{is} that the people are not only working harder, they are using initiative, they are living much better, there is no want, there is no rationing and people are well dressed. In fact we were searching for someone with a worn-out overcoat but we could not find anyone in the streets in Moscow. We tried to compare how people dress in the winter in New York.

The people are participating fully in government and are defending the legality of socialism. They are watching to see that it is not abused by this or that bureaucrat.

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Secondly the party works collectively and Comrade KHRUSHCHEV although he is the leader of the party, the First Secretary of the party, the Premier of the government, he is a part of the collective. He is with the people, honored and loved by the people. In fact they are almost fearful because of his constant mixing and appearances at every public event that take place, inspiring the people....

I want to say that one is inspired watching the building of communism. I visited some of the old cities such as Stalingrad, Leningrad, Gorki (PH) and other places. Many of these cities like Stalingrad which was raised to the ground has been completely rebuild in a grandiose plan for the future. It is hard to describe that feeling especially when you knew the old city. In the suburbs a new socialist city called the Socialist City has been built.

You know we have been isolated to some extent from the socialist world. The bourgeoisie tried to keep us from keeping contact, visiting and so forth. They have special laws for us to prevent us from having a picture of what is transpiring in the socialist world particularly from the Soviet Union. So when one is able to see with one's own eyes what is happening, it is bound to cause some thinking.

ADLAI STEVENSON, who reported last fall and in the April issue of "Progressive" they reprinted a lecture of his delivered in Washington, D. C.. He said that even the very pragmatic political leaders

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seem to believe profoundly in the truth of their way of life. They are quite confident that it will sweep the world. He said if I have not overstated it that from this flow two consequences: first that no effort, no dedication, no sacrifice is too great in order to realize the CP goal in Soviet society. The second thing is that no corner of humanity can be a matter of indifference to the communist cause. The whole human race is determined to become one in communist brotherhood.

Continuing CHILDS stated that he mentioned this because the bourgeoisie as such does not approach the results of this congress and the building of communism from the same point of view. On the contrary in recent weeks the bourgeoisie has done everything possible to confuse the American people, to confuse the meaning of the challenge of communism as presented in the Seven Year Plan to the American people.

Only yesterday MC ELROY made a speech of this nature. In it he construed the challenge as being that of a military might and as a danger to the American people. ALLAN DULLES a few weeks ago talked in a similar vein as well as several spokesmen of the bourgeoisie who are trying to distort the full significance of the Seven Year Plan. They want to prove it is a danger to the American people.

Comrades as I have said before, the Seven Year Plan has international significance, it will effect every country. The Five Year Plan, which was only the beginning of the construction of the foundation of socialism had profound economic and good political effect on society. In a sense it compelled some

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countries in Europe to break up its feudal states and carry through land reform because the Soviet Union was marching to socialism. Certainly today as was already stated socialism is irrevocable, communism is going to be built. It will be achieved and no one will stop it. It is going to have a profound effect on our mode of life and on our ideology as well as everything else. In the Soviet Union under the leadership of the party the people are talking about the realization of communism, First of all in the practical sense, the realization of the program that is the Seven Year Plan.... In the speech yesterday MC ELROY said that the most important thing is the struggle in ideology if we are going to remain a capitalist world. He put economics second. Ideology is very important for us because capitalism has outlived its usefulness, this is an ideological problem. But the thing that will move the workers is economic interest, economic things in daily life. I believe that in the Seven Year Plan with the construction of communism we will be able to move the American working class in the direction of a socialist understanding. You will remember that a year ago Comrade KHRUSHCHEV raised the question as to how material things such as bread, butter, meat and the like could help the understanding of socialism. It is more than that.....

First of all I would like to say that the decision of the 21st Congress are not unrelated but follow from the decision taken at the 20th Congress. Without the decision of the 20th Congress there could be no unleashing of the energy of the people in the decentralization of industry, the changes in agriculture, new educational policies and so forth. There was a defeat of the anti-party people, the dogmatists who wanted to cling to the old, the conservatives and so on.

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So that we can not dismiss the fact that the base was laid in the previous congress and indeed the leadership of the CP has shown how they carry through decisions to a higher state in the Seven Year Plan. The bourgeoisie while it is trying to distort the meaning and aims of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have been compelled now to accept at least the validity of statistics. I want to say a few words about statistics because it is very important. I see in one editorial where the National Bureau of Economic Research with the support of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, certainly not a friend of socialism, in which they admitted in their words the general accuracy of Soviet statistics in their corresponding figures for comparison with the United States. The propagandists for the bourgeoisie will not even challenge their own statistical analysts and scientists. They try to underestimate and to distort. They claim that the Soviet challenge is a threat and therefore we have to arm. On the other hand they say they will not carry through the Seven Year Plan or they will not achieve the miracle of development to outstrip the United States.

Comrades these are a few figures which give the dynamics and are called the industrial production in the socialist countries. For example from January, 1953 to 1957, in the socialist countries there was a 11.4 per cent general average growth but USSR averaged 11.6 per cent. In the capitalist countries for the same period the average growth was 4.2 per cent.... The capitalist countries charge that this is unfair as they use a depression period in the statistics....

Comrades in order to achieve communism the

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socialist world and the Soviet Union need peace and time. It is important in the construction of socialism so that it will move the working classes in other countries and our own country. It is important for the Soviet Union to raise the standard of living to the highest possible point and surpass the standard of living in the United States.

Now the American workers are faced with a very serious situation. According to the statistics of the American Federation of Labor, they point out that while we have an upturn in the nation at the present time there are still 4.4 million people hunting for jobs and a million or so who are under employed as they call it. Although American industry turns out goods at a higher rate than ever before and that corporate profits are increasing and profits in the first three months of 1959 will be 40 per cent higher than 1958, despite all of this it is accompanied by a constant increase in the percentage of unemployed.... These are important figures for us. A couple of weeks ago "Pravda" carried a two page spread on unemployment in the United States. Actually there were about seven or eight paragraphs introducing these two pages. The rest of it were reprints from speeches made at the unemployed gathering in Washington, D. C. and from editorials from AFL-CIO newspapers. The "Herald Tribune" took issue with the Soviet Union, they said the Soviet Union was engaged in propaganda. We have got to show to the American working class that this is not propaganda.

Comrades we have got to prove that the challenge is a peaceful challenge and Comrade JACKSON read the words of KHRUSHCHEV to emphasize the challenge was a peaceful competition. The aim of the Soviet Union

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is toward this and we have got to give some thought to this question.... As far as I know the only group that has submitted a program for peaceful construction, asking for billions of dollars for construction of houses, hospitals, schools and so forth are the Quakers.

Here again we should refer to the decision at the congress regarding trade relations with other countries. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV pointed out that trade can be done during the Seven Year Plan. We know that the leading circles of the American bourgeoisie is trying to destroy the beginnings of negotiations for trade that MIKOYAN undertook while visiting the United States. We know on the other hand that the British bourgeoisie have sent a delegate to make long range agreements with the Soviet Union. We have got to show that this will not hurt the United States...

The Seven Year Plan will certainly make possible more aid to the underdeveloped countries but the Soviet Union seeks nothing from these undeveloped countries. For example the Soviet Union participated in the building of 550 enterprises, 169 of these were in the socialist countries, the rest in other countries... I believe that we have the task to prove that this construction could help solve some of the problems in the United States and at the same time show the inadequacy of capitalism.

Now we have not discussed our means and methods of propaganda. How do we make comparisons? How do we prove to the workers that the standard of living is just as high in the socialist countries if not higher in many respects? It will certainly be

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higher in the future. Things can be proven not only by statistics but also if we work properly to bring about exchanges of delegations, even individuals, the rank and file from trade unions. They must see that this is what has happened in the Soviet Union and this certainly is not going to hurt the cause of communism.

Comrades we therefore have to understand what is happening in the Soviet Union in the light of the struggle for peace. We have to expose the machinations of the more reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is not of one mind. Perhaps you think that (ADLAI) STEVENSON expresses the more progressive section because he uses different language. It is true he expressed it differently than all the others; certainly differently than ALLAN DULLES. But there are others including influential circles that see no profits in a nuclear war of devastation. We have got to show to the American people that there is profit in peaceful coexistence and enduring peace.

I believe that this will make things easier for the party in the struggle for the daily demands and ultimately for socialism. I saw this morning where some minister, representing a big church group, proposed that the United States sign a non-aggression pact. I am sure that this minister does not speak only for himself or this limited group. There are millions of people that have this sentiment; that would not be willing to engage in a war or to make the sacrifices that MC ELROY asks for. I believe that this is our most important task and our duty just as the comrades in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries say it is their duty to build communism, to show the workers in the capitalist world that socialism is

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superior. It is our duty to struggle for peace in order to gain them the time and to make it possible to organize the people for peace in the capitalist world.

Comrades I want to say a few words about the congress and the American party as it is seen in the eyes of these other parties. As I told JIM (JACKSON?) before, JIM was a member of the pres~~id~~ing committee so he was sitting on the podium or stage. Perhaps he did not feel it--mixed with all the delegates. I know he has travelled with many, talked with many and spoke at many meetings but comrades there is a real comradely feeling and appreciation of the American CP amongst the communist leadership of every country that I talked to. They understand some of the difficulties that the party faces here. They understand the meaning of Mc Carthyism. Even the Latin American parties understood when we did not always come forward more boldly and openly. They thought we were struggling heroically under the circumstances.

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Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS (cont'd)

JIM (JACKSON) was a very good representative of the Party. I heard him speak at a number of meetings. First a speech at the Congress, at institutions of higher learning including the Academy of Social Sciences, the Academy of Philosophy and other institutions. There is a great interest concerning the United States and JIM (JACKSON) was questioned in detail. I am sure that GEORGE (MORRIS) will also have the same story to tell concerning the interests shown for the problems of the United States. At the same time, the central point of discussion would usually lead to the question of peace in the United States. You could never leave a working class meeting or talk to a Communist leader of another country without an appreciation of the fact that our Party is in the forefront fighting for peace.

They know that in this Party they have a staunch defender of peace. They were very happy that the Party was able to rid itself of the ulcers of revisionism and to carry on a struggle against sectarianism . . . So Comrades, I want to agree here with JIM (JACKSON) that while we have suffered many losses and have gone through an internal struggle, we still have to repair the damage. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the world Communist movement our Party is honored. The Latin American countries are also fighting for peace, to prevent their communities from being dragged into the orbit of another war which the American imperialists may want to launch. They are fighting for independence and feel that in the Communist Party of the United States they have a staunch defender of their independence. They say so in no mistaken terms and they wish us well.

They hope that we rebuild the Party, expand our influence, and to participate with them to see that

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there is peace in this world. I think we should take these discussions down to the lower levels of the Party and we should concretize some of these things insofar as our ability goes.

We should make the American working man fully understand the significance of this challenge and how peace is related to this challenge instead of war. I think if we do these things then we will have done our duty and help in the construction of a new society.

Remarks of Chairman

We will have a five minute break. Following a short break, the chairman stated that in his opinion in order to save time they ought to receive the reports as informational ones and schedule a discussion on the 21st Congress at a later date.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I would like to make a point of order. I think that the proposition concerning future discussion should be tabled until GEORGE MORRIS finishes his report, since this was a package deal of the three Comrades.

Remarks of Chairman

Your point of order is well taken and the chair will so rule. GEORGE, you have the floor.

Remarks of GEORGE MORRIS

Comrades, I am a little bit on the spot here. First, because there has already been a considerable amount of thought on the question. Secondly, I did not know that I would be requested to make extended remarks on this until I came in this morning. So if

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I do not make my remarks in a well organized manner, perhaps this is one of the reasons.

I have been back a couple of weeks and within that short space of two weeks you really revive your capital consciousness, you realize you are back in capitalism, that you are no longer on that "magic carpet". That is the way I felt for four months that I was on a "magic carpet". I toured through England and France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union I visited Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and other places and I tell you, Comrades, that you are bewildered by all the new things you see. In my opinion, the big problem before us in this discussion is how do you convey the spirit, the energy and dynamics behind this movement in the Soviet Union to the people in the United States . . .

The thing that impressed me almost everywhere I visited was the enthusiasm to conclude the Seven Year Plan in a lesser period of time. The second thing that impressed me most and which is necessary to bring to our people in the United States is the feeling among the Soviet people and Socialist countries, this feeling of hope and confidence in the future. When you go to France and England, you do not see that confidence . . .

Now, Comrades, you hear all sorts of people trying to downgrade the Seven Year Plan. You have people like MEANY, for example, and his article, which incidentally I have answered in the form of a 64 page pamphlet. He (MEANY) says that the Seven Year Plan is a cover up and that there is a crises in the Soviet Union, that the sixth Five Year Plan has gone haywire and therefore they had to abandon it. He says they concocted the combination of what was left of the sixth Five Year Plan and called it a new Seven Year Plan. Well, he is the only one this stupid because all the

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experienced propagandists against Communism will not use that kind of answer. MEANY, however, was put in the position where he had no alternative because he could not retreat from his slave labor thesis that he and his organization have followed for the past forty years.

First of all it is a fact that the Soviet Union had projected a Fifteen Year Plan and this is the first half of that plan. For instance, the success they had in the virgin land situation was far beyond the anticipation of the most optimistic people of the Soviet Union, including KHRUSHCHEV himself. The returns on that have been tremendous. The industrial reorganization on a regional basis is cutting down some of the cumbersome centralization that exists in the Soviet Union, thus realizing the full initiative of the area . . . Then too, there has been a tremendous discovery of natural gas in the Soviet Union. While I was in Bekistan (ph) they told me a little about it because that was one of the major areas where they discovered it. They are building a pipe line to Moscow and it will provide for the whole Moscow area. It opens up the possibility for a tremendous build up of mechanical industry and particularly the plastic industry. Then there is the tremendous discovery of new natural resources. They have discovered it to an extent that most Russians have never dreamed of, and the biggest of all discoveries is the biggest iron ore deposit in the whole world in the area of European Russia, a couple of hundred miles outside of Moscow. This has a possibility of development beyond comprehension. It is the biggest ore find the world has ever had. I do not have to tell you about the tremendous scientific discoveries developed in the Soviet Union in the recent period. Then of course, there is this big reserve that has come up and gone far beyond expectations. This is the enthusiasm, creativeness and initiative of the people themselves, realized in recent years by this democratization that has taken place in the Soviet Union.

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We should understand that something big and material has happened to make this all possible. KHRUSHCHEV outlined this in a few words. He says the seven years will bring us in many fields past the United States production but it will still be considerably short of United States production on a per capita basis. So another five years will be needed to bring per capita production above that of the United States. . .

Now this organization on a regional basis I spoke of when you go through those areas there is when you find out what is happening . . . Take for example housing. Here MEANY makes a big point of this. He forgets entirely that 1,700 cities were destroyed wholly or in part. He forgets that 14 per cent of the entire housing space was destroyed during the war. He forgets how people lived in caves, millions of them, and I have seen much that still remains in Stalingrad of these shacks that were built hurriedly. People have been living in them for some 15 years waiting to be transferred to apartments. The important thing is that there is a building movement in housing today in the Soviet Union to such a degree that no one ever dreamed of, including the United States. They are far above the United States in housing space made available every year to people. The general plan in the Soviet Union is to liquidate the housing question in 12 years. In places that I visited, they say they plan to liquidate the problem within six years. They are doing it on the basis of new resources that they have discovered. For example in Bekistan, lumber is difficult in that country because it is very dry. They have discovered wild weed, a kind of twig that grows all over the country and they have found ways of making prefabricated wall panels. They are setting up factories all over Bekistan to utilize that material to build wall panels for mass production of houses. So it goes with respect to many other elements.

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The first thing that hits you when you come off the airport to drive into town is the vast university developments, a tremendous housing development, blocks and blocks of seven-story apartment houses . . . If you were to take Stuyvesant towns and line them up, I don't think you would exhaust the area. Then too, old villages are being cleared out, bulldozers just clearing the whole area. This is what is going on around Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and everywhere else.

This will give you an idea of the prospective. The statistics of the Soviet Union say that in the Seven Year Plan, 75 million people are going to be transferred from old apartments to new ones. In other words, out of every 10 people, 5 will get keys to new apartments.

Now on the average living standard. I asked at every factory that I went to what the average (wage) was and it was about 900 rubles. I do not know if that is the national average but I suspect that it is approximate. You take 900 rubles and tell the American worker and he reduces this to 10 rubles to the dollar. The Seven Year Plan says that at the end of that time there will be a further increase of 40 per cent in living standards. The average American worker would say that even on top of all that he was still better off. The fact is that it is most ridiculous to make a pay envelope comparison between the countries because as KHRUSHCHEV pointed out, the wages a worker gets that are not in his pay envelope. It takes the form of government subsidies in rent because you do not pay rent in the Soviet Union. It is a subsidy by the government, in fact the government builds the houses and after that you pay for services. Then too, medical care is absolutely free. They told me of an American woman who came to visit relatives in Russia. She took

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sick and they had to give her special treatments. When she recovered and wanted to know how much she would have to pay, they told her it was free. She could not believe it. She screamed that there was something wrong. That woman went away screaming that it was all Communist propaganda. The same is true for education and recreation. You do not pay a nickel to give birth to a child, in fact they pay you for having one. They have prices on what you get after the third, fourth and fifth child on up to the tenth, and then you are a hero. Now when you take all of those facts, they are saving at a higher rate than we are . . .

Then too, a great majority of the workers are on piece work or premium basis. They collect more with a increase in production. Then too, there is this periodical dropping of prices. They will have a general price decrease economy. Where new commodities come out, they are lower in price than the old ones they are replacing. So along with that there is going to be still another element and that is that the Seven Year Plan is going to increase the social benefits by an average of 3,800 rubles per individual. That is the way it comes out on a per capita basis.

They have all gone into a social insurance fund. The social insurance fund is like a great big box with cubbyholes in it, each one having billions of dollars for one or another social fund, such as mothers' care, child care, vacations, sickness and the like. The union dispenses that money. Last year it was 315 billion rubles. In other words there is going to be an increase of almost 40 per cent in the form of new social benefits during the course of the seven years. There is the thing which we have to emphasize to the workers . . . Now take the question of education of youth. They had a big campaign on with this new education system. MEANY

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makes a big issue out of that too, but I am not going to go into details. The important point is that changes in the education system are also designed like these other changes that have taken place to prepare education to set the needs of the (economy?). This system provides for more education. In the Soviet Union they consider everybody below 18 a child, that is, anyone below 18 works six hours (a day?). Those who begin to work before 15 (years), they work four hours a day as a learner in the factory . . .

Now I had an interview with a Deputy Chief Justice and we discussed this question of youth and juvenile delinquency . . . I think that to stress what the Soviet Union is doing in this could be a tremendous weapon in our hands. He (Deputy Chief Justice) gave me some very interesting material how they are taking away from police the handling of misdemeanors and bringing it into the hands of people's courts. He told me that since 1947 crime among youth has declined some 50 per cent. He also said that in recent months they have cut the militia by 40 per cent because of the cut down of work. In addition to that, they have closed up many courts in the Soviet Union because there is nothing for them to do.

Now, Comrades, I am coming to a close. The point is that we should be cognizant of the changes taking place . . . One of the most important things that you see in the Soviet Union today is that they not only put their aim in peace but their confidence in peace as well. They are doing all this tremendous construction apparently without fear that there might be a war. We are nearing a point where as KHRUSHCHEV stresses, the balance will be so much that the bourgeois will not be able to make war.

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So we see, Comrades, it is a tremendous problem in which we all have a part. Thus the problem of making certain that this develops to a point where peace would be insured. Then too, the other Socialist countries such as China, are also going along and being stimulated by the Soviet Union. So, Comrades, I think we ought to recognize that we are entering into an era wherein the Soviet Union's achievements are as such, a tremendous inspiration to all Socialist movements in the world. We have an opportunity of catching up to a large extent to this tremendous prestige of the Socialist world. The opportunity of building a Party. Now do not misunderstand me; I do not try to say that the Party can build itself on the basis of developments outside the United States or anything like that. We have a great deal to gain by the gains of the Socialist world as a whole and we should try to utilize this opportunity. I do not think we have been doing this. I think we have to do it much more resolutely.

Comrades, we have to do everything in our power to make possible delegations to the Soviet Union . . . I would like to see, for example, a Negro delegation go through the Soviet Union and particularly spend some time in Lousbecki (ph), a country which before the revolution was one of the most backward areas of the Soviet Union. Today they are making relatively greater progress than any part of the Soviet Union. . . I would like to see all sorts of Negro representatives to the worker's delegation go to the Soviet Union. Let them go as tourists, let them go in any form possible. We should look into all these possibilities and realize that in the next period . . . because what is happening in the Socialist world is running all to the good.

Informant advised that there was much discussion as to whether there should be a discussion period on the reports given regarding the 21st Congress or because of lack of time proceed to other matters.

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Remarks of an Unknown Female

I am not opposing the motion for obvious reasons, however, I believe that the National Executive Committee should make it easy for the National Committee. It should be in the ability of the National Executive Committee to anticipate discussion.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

The NEC, as far as I recall, decided to have a discussion on the reports. I move that we proceed without further interruption and if necessary to spend the entire evening on it.

Remarks of Chairman

The chair understood that we had a motion which would dispense with the discussion. Your motion is contrary and I cannot entertain it.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I can think of nothing that will make more difficult the work in New England for I must admit that there is quite a bit of disagreement from the questions we have discussed today. I can't return there and say that we listened to a report that was nearly as long as KHRUSHCHEVs. We had three people to do it and we did not have time for questions and discussion. I believe that this motion is out of order and is not according to the agenda 'we'... adopted and should be voted down.

Remarks of Unknown Female

I would like to suggest that we proceed until 8:00 o'clock on the discussion and then take the agenda from there.

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Remarks of Chairman

The chair suggests that we vote this motion up or down and move on from there. An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant then stated that there were a number of people present who are not members of the National Committee and should not be permitted to vote.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be BEN DAVIS, JR.

We have a pretty heavy agenda . . . and we might take up the move question tomorrow. We also have a couple of other points on the agenda today. So it is my opinion that we have limited discussion of perhaps two hours and then go on from there.

Remarks of Chairman

We have a motion here. If you do not like it, vote against it. Now all of those who do not want to have a discussion, raise your hand. The motion is lost by a vote of 11 to 19. All right, we will proceed with discussion.

Remarks of Unknown Male

Even under (EARL) BROWDER, there was no open attack within out Party's leadership against the Soviet Union, against the line of Socialism. However, in 1955, I think it is a well recognized fact that our Party, particularly our national leadership, became somewhat disoriented in their attitude toward the Soviet Union. It is also a fact that the 16th National Convention did not succeed in reorienting our Party on the question of international solidarity, on the question of our attitude

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to the Parties in other lands. This weakened our work in every respect, organizationally, numerically and ideologically. Therefore, I think we can welcome the trip of Comrades JACKSON, CHILDS and MORRIS to the Soviet Union as a big step forward towards re-establishing on our part a positive and friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union.

I think that Comrade JACKSON's report gives us the basis for resolving problems which still haunt our Party. You see I think it is wise that our Party and leaders of other parties have a positive attitude toward our work. I think that it is our job here today to say that we appreciate your attitude, that we are going to take a self-critical attitude toward our work. We are going to see how we can strengthen our Party in this rather difficult and objective situation. One of the things, I think, that we can do is re-establish a Marxist - Leninist division on the question of the Soviet Union and Hungary. Do not think by any means, Comrades, it was as if we have to pass this question off Certainly if we cannot do anything less, we can call on those Comrades who were so anxious to rush into print when the working class was under attack and under assault, at a time when the Soviet Union was under the worst campaign of slander in the history of American imperialists This can be done not from the point of view of beheading anybody, opening old wounds, but from the point of view of reorienting our Party on the question of international solidarity. I think it is high time for such a statement. I assure you that if we do that the effect within the district is going to be positive, is going to resolve in a closing of ranks and a strengthening of the Party. We do not demand of the rank and file, comrade, the same attitude and the same consistency that we do of an active leadership.

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Furthermore, I do not feel that we can say that we have ousted revisionism, particularly when we review our work on Latin America in respect to Cuba. I frankly do not feel that we did everything we could have done on Cuba. I think we could have had a reporter down there before the revolution was won. I think we could have had observers with CASTRO's forces. I think we could organize delegates to Latin American countries and visit with those Latin American countries. I do not think we have to take after ERROL FLYNN on a question like this, ERROL FLYNN being down there before we were. It is particularly important that our Party play this kind of role because it is the American imperialists who are reaping huge profits in the exploitation of the Latin American countries.

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Remarks of Unknown Male (Continued)

Many of us feel that isolation comes from a sectarian dogmatic attitude. The fact is, Comrades.....in Latin America, we have isolated ourselves from Cuban-American workers and from Latin American workers generally. I think also there is a failure to identify the main source of revisionism as American imperialism. Comrade JACKSON said that Yugoslavia is the center (of revisionism) but the source is here in this country.

I think we have to point out the danger of Fascism. We should indicate that this lynching is an attempt by American imperialism to resolve this in a Fascist manner. I think Comrade JACKSON has done a wonderful job in giving this report and laying the basis for our work. Nevertheless it did not do mainly what has to be done in this National Committee and that is to eradicate the main danger of revisionism. He (JACKSON?) did not help this by stating that the ulcer of revisionism has been cut out. That is an objective, it is not a fact. I will finish by saying that the re-establishment of a Marxist-Leninist line on Hungary and the re-establishment of a Marxist-Leninist line on Latin America is indispensable for the growth of our party.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

I think that all of us will agree that one of the most important things is to find a way to popularize to our fellow Americans the significance of the tremendous achievements that are reflected in the 21st Congress. We should be concerned with first KHRUSHCHEV's report itself. If you take off the first few pages of statistics, it becomes difficult for ordinary people to note the significance. Much of what Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said is as exciting a story

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as could be told to Americans concerning the meaning of collective ownership and of what the significance and grandeur of socialism is to the individual..... We could single out for further exploration..... the question of popularizing such questions for instance as taxation. The American worker it is estimated spends some three months of the year working to pay his taxes. The statement of the 21st Congress is that only in a few years it will be possible to eliminate taxation entirely. Then too there is this question around rent..... I suppose everyone has some idea of what the workers of our own country face with regard to this question of rent. I think that it is also necessary for Communists not only to be able to discuss these questions but it seems to me equally necessary particularly for Communist leaders to attempt to grapple with some of the enormous and exciting ideological problems that are rising on the question of the transition from socialism to Communism.....

The scientific difference between socialism and Communism is clear. What is called socialism is termed by MARX as the first or lower phase of Communist society insofar as the means of production becomes common property. The word Communism is also applicable here providing we do not forget that it is not complete Communism. In its first phase Communism can not get..... economically and entirely free from traditions and traces of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that Communism in its first phase retains the narrow horizon of bourgeois right. Consequently not only bourgeois right but even bourgeois fate remains for a certain time under Communism without the bourgeoisie.....

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACKSON gave us a magnificent report, a report which will require much thought on our part.....

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Obviously this is something that we could not undertake tonight but I say we should have limited discussion and in that sense I want to make one or two points realizing that I am not even beginning to discuss some of the things that I would like.

First of all one of the points that was emphasized here again and again by all the speakers is that the Seven Year Plan is a peace plan. We will have to explain again and again and convince the American workers..... For that reason we have some very serious tasks once more in order to have a victory in our party. I have already reported to a number of people on the 21st Congress. The question that comes up is that capitalists say that the Soviet Union will be incapable of carrying out its plan and even if they do they will not prove anything because they are coming from a lower level. They say that when the United States was growing it was also growing at a rapid pace. Fortunately a little booklet was recently issued and in this booklet I found ample material to answer some of these questions. For example, the United States from 1867 to 1907, a period of forty years just after a Civil War made only five per cent (growth?). If you take from 1928 to 1955 the growth for the United States was only 3.6 per cent for twenty-seven years which included the war years. Now the Soviet Union from 1928 to 1955 including the war years was eleven per cent. If you exclude the war years for the Soviet Union it was 15.1 per cent..... Now if you take Britain, Italy and others they are not growing at the rate of the Soviet Union. No country in the history of the world, at any time has had the kind of growth that socialism has and this clearly proves the superiority of socialism.

The last point I want to deal with is this question of challenge. I think we have to be very (bold?) in order

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to use the word challenge. Challenge to whom? To the capitalists or to the world.....in what sense is it a challenge to the American people. Is it because it will prove that you have workers without any work....

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I think that to go into the theoretical phases of KHRUSHCHEV's report in ten minutes is impossible. The report is so important that it is basic that the National Committee dedicate one day to listen to the three important reports and to take one day to discuss it..... Many of us have read KHRUSHCHEV's report and many have only read the excerpts from it in the "Worker". This is something to be read, to study; something to think about in terms of your trade union or your national minority groups or whatever work you are doing. To let the world know that the National Committee of the United States has dealt with the KHRUSHCHEV report just one half hour before supper is something we ought to consider..... We can not just give seven minutes to one person or ten minutes to another and say we have to discuss the KHRUSHCHEV report....

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be BERT NELSON

I just want to say a word or two about using the achievements of socialism to advantage. I have had a lot of very interesting experiences just within the last couple of months. One thing, a Smith Act case in a small town is a bit of a stabilizer in relationship with others. It has a definite value in that people that you knew before just as acquaintances or fellow workers now start conversation with you. I find too that literally everyone is interested in what is going on in the Soviet Union particularly if you approach it on a level of a particular problem or interest.

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For instance we have recently had a number of teachers requesting information. They are ordinary teachers who want information about the educational system. They are very pleased to get copies of a pamphlet put out in Canada by a group of Canadian educators that went over to Prague from Canada. I find too that farmers are extremely interested about getting details concerning Soviet farm techniques. I find that people who are interested in aircraft are very interested to get details about Soviet aircraft developments. The extremely important part of it to me is of course the ideological base for the war drive of anticomunism.

Anticomunism is based on a fear of something mysterious and unknown. We have now a wonderful opportunity to debate this mysterious fearful thing and to start humanizing it. I find now a completely different attitude then say seven or eight years ago. Then if you attempted to popularize socialist achievement to a fellow worker it was very likely to result in isolation. Today you can give them information on specific things going on in the Soviet Union as a way to build friendship and contacts. I think if we specialize and particularize..... I think there are opportunities for breaking down anticomunism.

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be SAM KUSHNER

I would like to say just one word and it is that I hope that no one is going to take the 21st Congress and make a factional weapon out of it in our party in this country. The 21st Congress has done a lot of things and it was comprised in JIM's (JACKSON) report. I would say that the most important thing that stuck in my mind was that no party in the world dare isolate itself from its own working class. We have made mistakes and we have done things that are wrong both collectively and individually.....

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Now I would like to say I heard one other report on recent events in the Soviet Union which impressed me greatly..... HARRY BRIDGES (phonetic)..... I have never heard as good a trade union report based upon discussions with workers on the job. He said nothing about his discussions with the trade union officials of the Soviet Union but he told about his discussions with longshoremen in Keig (phonetic) and other cities. He told them it was easy for him to understand why the Soviet workers do not strike..... now BRIDGES did not agree with everything. He did not see everything necessarily as we would in a report.....

We have a steady pool of unemployed of some five or six million. It will probably get larger and we have got to talk to those people..... now on this question of trade. There are attacks developing based on a new found isolationist..... That the guys overseas are taking our jobs. Tool and die makers in Detroit have had some bitter experiences.... Workers on the West Coast have had bitter experience with Japanese products which have cut down on employment on the West Coast. Reactionary forces like the steel companies are attempting to utilize the fears of the workers and always itsthe antiforeign approach. I think we must cope with this and we can help to find the answers.....

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be LOUIS WEINSTOCK

I still feel that this is not the occasion of the discussion of the 21st Congress and further that there will be more..... I believe you can spend a number of hours on the question of Titoism, on the question of revisionism. The workers are very much interested as to how the 21st Congress would handle international relations..... I believe that discussion is going on and that the documents will be studied and proper language will be drawn. I enjoyed and fully agree with the report.....

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Now if you want to carry on an attractive job and to convince the American workers as to the benefits of socialism it will not be safe just to mention that 900 rubles represents \$90.00. We must mentioned what a French worker earns a day and what he can buy in comparison with the 900 rubles. We have to take the common workers in other capitalistic countries and compare them otherwise we are going to miss the boat. Here (United States) you have a strong nationalist gang leader.... of the trade union movement that will do everything they can to stop the interchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. It means they will be able to carry on these lies about the Soviet Union..... So I suggest that in this discussion that we discuss the 21st Congress and the tremendous effect it will have on our daily work. The same time we must make every effort to bring to the American worker how socialism has improved the living standard of the Russian worker I believe that in this way we will be able to bring to the American worker the advantages of socialism and bring socialism to the American worker.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

The transition to Communism in the Soviet Union is certainly inspiring to everyone of us. But more than anything else, what these reports seem to me to require as I read them is to create a feeling of anger. Anger over the robbery that is constantly being perpetrated by the American ruling class at the expense of the potential living standards and cultural development of the American people. If the Soviet Union could in the space of forty years begin to talk about the eradication of attitudes and exploitation..... then just think what a glaring light this throws on the tremendous capacity of the most advanced capitalistic country, with the highest techniques up until recent years and which are being drained off for the benefit of a small circle in our country. It seems

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to me that this anger should be directed to the class struggle in our country and is our prime duty and concern.

Now one of the main false slogans of the revisionists in our party, those who wanted to liquidate the party of socialism in the United States, was the claim that they were the champions of some sort of American progress whereas our party was the champion of the Soviet Union. Let's not in the name of struggle against revisionism dig up this false issue. The issue in our party never revolved around the question of who championed the interest of the American class as opposed to the championing of the interest of the Soviet Union. It never will be the interest in a truly Marxist-Leninist party. We defeated the revisionist on that issue.

I think that we should not play fast and loose with this so-called (reduction?) of alleged revisionism in our party..... This incidentally is the greatest contribution we can make in the present world situation. Now comrades it would behoove us it seems to me to be extremely concerned about the fate of our own party's theoretical development at this point. We are privileged to be living in a period of tremendous world transformation. One could say that in part of the world mankind is already enjoying the 21st century and we are still trying to pull ourselves out of the 19th century.

That means also that there are unprecedented problems with unwritten answers..... Now comrades "He" did not hesitate to pose this question before the 21st Congress. "He" said that it is necessary to develop bold thinking based on theoretical generalizations of our enormous tactical experience which is the result of moving along the untrdden and unknown road of Communist construction. This he said requires the raising of the social sciences to a new standard. This is true of the Soviet party but can we say for our

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party there is a need to raise the theoretical standards of our work in the development of social sciences of Marxism-Leninism. Today we must cope with new questions that have never been written before. We must cope with questions of peaceful coexistence..... There were those who said that the Soviet Union is an economic vacuum. There were those who said it would not last 90 days, that it would fail and return to cannibalism. Today they find themselves obliged to think in terms of new relations. We have to help formulate new understanding of the relation of our working class to the peoples of the rest of the world who have moved far beyond what we potentially could have done because we were deprived of doing and enjoying it by the ruling class in our country. All these wonderful things that the Soviet people are now able to enjoy we could have enjoyed long before this. We must create an outcry of anger over this theft of our heritage, this robbery of our perpetual enjoyment, this denial of the future of our children.

The American workers are being told today that Soviet achievement represents a challenge. This has already been spoken of by other comrades. It does not represent a challenge, it represents a promise..... It represents a promise of achievement if the American workers can be organized to struggle for the fulfillment of the potential capacities of our own country's which are being held from them by monopoly rulers.

The question of foreign trade arrived out of the new expansion of the socialist center of the world. It means job opportunities for us. I hope that our party will be able to do such effective work in the development of the people's antimonopoly coalition that we will be able to enjoy the potential that is available out of our own national resources. Failing in that I think the new relations of forces in the world may confront us with a seriousness in which our country may for a time require lend

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lease in reverse, foreign aid from Soviet countries.....

Remarks of Chairman

The question is should we take an hour and a half for supper or would it not be better to spend that hour and a half on the agenda and go home for the evening. The motion was made and accepted that they would proceed for an hour and a half and adjourn for the day. Before we tackle the next question we do need a motion to accept the reports. All those in favor say I, opposed no. Motion accepted.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

Now comrades when I made this report at the NEC at a recent meeting it was much longer than I expect to make here. Comrades we are at the question of this move to Chicago. I dare say if we were to take a vote now on this question whether it would be more practical - Chicago or New York and without any other questions being considered I have no doubt that the large majority would signify Chicago.

I was appointed by a committee and I served with that committee and finally I became a committee of one. The NEC accepted my report by a majority vote and I am reporting therefore for the NEC which coincides very strongly with my opinion.

I think there are some very compelling arguments against moving. I would say further that the National Executive Committee could be criticized as they took too long to come to a decision. The way I see it now is that it is not possible to move the party. Nothing that we say here will be binding by the convention. Our main motivation is to decide solely on the facts of Chicago or New York.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL (continued)

I think that we would like to have the center of the Party nearest to the basic industries of the country. We would like to have the Party centered in a political environment...of the population. I believe that was the motivation of the Convention and it would be our motivation today. I emphasize this because some comrades believe that the Convention acted lightly on this question because there was no discussion. There was no discussion but the Convention acted wisely.

Some comrades here believe that New York would still be the proper place for the Party. They point to the fact that New York is the largest city in the world, that New York has large centers of industry, it is a cultural center, and has the largest Negro population. They also point to the fact that in New York is located the United Nations, a large Spanish-speaking population and a close proximity of organizations in Latin America. They even point to the fact that New York is closer to the Capitol, Washington. In my opinion, all these factors may be correct and would be a very strong consideration; however, there is a tendency to look upon Chicago as being a solution to our problems in our Party. That is one thing we should dispel. I can point to the fact that the Socialist Party had a center in Chicago most of the time and that did not stop it from degeneration. Our Party had a center here (New York) for twenty-seven years and it has not stopped us from doing some very good work. This just proves that it should not be the main consideration, there must be other things.

Now previously a committee was set up to look into this question, and if I am not mistaken, Comrade ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN) and (SAM) KUSHNER together made a report at the last meeting saying that conditions on Chicago had changed to the point where they thought it was unfavorable for moving and the committee was discharged.

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Now the next job was to investigate what were the problems confronting the NEC in moving to Chicago on the basis of the report that the move can be made....

Now first of all, we have to take into account a number of objective questions. We cannot dispose of these objective questions as unimportant. Such as the present national tension and resurgence of Mc Carthyism. I don't believe I have to spell them out. The national tensions are such, as we know, certain devicous situations may arise.... and it would be a danger to the Party. Then too, there is the problems of new trials and the Denver convictions. We also have membership cases coming before the Supreme Court. The first case will be argued... (JUNIUS) SCALES. Then too, there is the attack on the courts by the Bar Association. Many other things can be added.

The next group of questions, in my opinion, that we would have to look into are the problems that have grown... for 32 years. Then too, "The Worker" won't move. You have all sorts of publications, such as "Political Affairs," "The New World," "Mainstream," "Jewish Currents," "Labor Research," International Publishers, New Century and many others that "cooperate" with our movement, that are wholly independent. I am not mentioning the national groups because fortunately they are scattered throughout the country.

Another thing, it would take time to set up cadre in another center. We cannot move all of them and yet, we have to move a considerable number. Today you have the position where most of the cadre are working for private institutions. You have to consider problems of families and so forth. It is not so simple to move people.

For example, the entire staff of "The Worker," and I am not including myself or Comrade (WILLIAM L.) PATTERSON, they said they would have the greatest difficulty if they had to move from a personal point of view. Now, of course, you

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could say, leave these institutions in New York and move a few comrades and still make a success of it. My opinion of that is that it would create grave danger, a dual center, and create differences from the point of view of the Party being able to carry on its work in its leadership. The result would be that we would not know which is the head and which is the tail. It would result in weakening the authority of the center at the very moment when we have to move to strengthen it.

I am of the deep conviction that if the center were to move to Chicago, "The Worker" would have to move also.

Now the third group of questions are problems of immediate character, the state of the Party itself. Comrades, even at the Convention, we talked of membership in the amount of 18,500. That is what we claimed at that time. The realistic membership today is quoted as one-third of that.... and a good majority are located in the two extremes in geography, California and New York. Now it is true that the Mid-West districts are more important from the point of view that the political ground is good....but yet they still have a narrow basis for membership. If I am not mistaken, three main districts, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan, have renewed about 1,200 members. This is just about one-half the New York membership. Now these create many problems. Not the least of which is financial. I would not underestimate that problem because at this very moment there is grave danger for our whole collective structure. We do not spend so much time on that, we work as if everything will work out in the long run, but I can assure you that the work is in great danger at the present time. New York has to carry \$45,000 out of the \$75,000 annual deficit. Actually it is even more than that. The working class needs \$100,000 annually. This being a Convention year, we will have to raise even more money. Our estimate is a minimum of \$25,000 for the Convention. A larger Convention would cost even more. The Party will have to raise all sorts of money... What we have here is a small Party compelled to carry a heavier and heavier burden. We estimate that if we were to

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move there would be an additional cost of \$50,000. When HELEN (WINTER) was here in February, the estimate was \$35,000. We estimate the minimum would be \$50,000.

For all these reasons, comrades, the NEC majority came to the conclusion that these are compounding reasons in the objective situation... We came to the conclusion to propose the following:

1. That the National Committee be urged to submit the moving question to the 17th Convention and to address a letter to the membership.

2. We propose that the National Committee set up a strong Mid-West Bureau with one of the National Party Secretaries in charge of working the Mid-West.

3. Create a Mid-West edition of "The Worker."

I would like to add one more point of my own. Comrades, I am convinced that we have to recreate a "Daily Worker" before the 1960 election. For all these reasons, I would urge the adoption of this report.

Remarks of the Chairman

The motion is made that there be three speakers for the report and three against, limited to five minutes. Motion carried. Is there any motion now concerning the report?

Remarks of an Unknown Male

Let me ask a question, was there any special trade union plans set up for Chicago? I did not quite get that. Is the Trade Union Commission to be retained in New York?

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

There are already commissions operating in Chicago... and in the Mid-West. The proposal that was made to the NEC

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was adopted in principle without going into detail. There will be a Mid-West Bureau and this will include all phases of the Party's work.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

At the Convention, there was discussion by a committee of 26 at great length. Over a hundred people were consulted, so that this represented widespread discussion. I have not been persuaded that the movement at the Convention was incorrect and I did not feel that the proposal is necessary. I do not know how practical it would be at this moment but I say I welcome the move that will strengthen the work in the Mid-West in any event. This is long past due and the Mid-West Bureau is a good step.... I, therefore, feel that the report should be rejected.

Remarks of Another Unknown Male

Comrades, to get the records straight on this question, I was the one who advised the National Committee not to make the move. There was no discussion at the District Board or State Committee on it. There were expressions of concern about the Party moving its headquarters among officials in the Packing House, the ACLU and other liberal elements in that city. This was the atmosphere, some comrades can frown their faces but these are facts and I can verify them. We would have been irresponsible to move the Party to Chicago in such an atmosphere.... We must now face the fact that it is a physical impossibility to move to Chicago before the Convention... Now if you have some argument about what went on for two years, that is another question. I think the question has to be faced here on its merit and I want, therefore, to urge that JACK's report be accepted. I abstained in the NEC on this question, when JACK made his report. I abstained for the reason that arguments were presented to never move, and that I could not go along with. Common sense tells me that we cannot do it.

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Remarks of Another Unknown Male

I can see an approach to the moving of the center to Chicago based on an outlook that would take two, three or five years, where certain minimum objectives would be accomplished as a pre-condition but this cannot be done before the Convention. I think we have to adopt such a motion on this point alone.... The fact of the matter is that the problem of moving the center to Chicago is simply a question of \$50,000 and more.

Remarks of Another Individual
Believed to be CARL WINTER

I believe, as JACK (STACHEL) indicated in his report, that the 16th Convention made a wise decision in proposing that the Party move to Chicago.... I think too that we cannot ignore the effects of environment in which the Party would be operating... I do not think that there is anybody so foolhardy as to propose that we should move to Chicago now or next month. Now what I object to is any arguments which tend to make it appear that the new set of circumstances could be read retroactively in terms of wisdom of a Convention decision. The referendum at the Convention did not say we should move tomorrow. It said within one year. If on the other hand, the National leadership had come to the conclusion before the year was up that circumstances were different than what the Convention found them to be, and then we should not carry out the decision. But it was incumbent on the National leadership to go back to the Party membership and to say no. I cannot see how we can resolve this question merely by saying that we cannot move, therefore, we will toss the ball back to the next Convention. I think that the least we can do is to state that we have failed. I, therefore, can't go along with the mere motion which is merely to continue the shirking of responsibility of the National Committee. We shirked this responsibility from the 16th Convention until now and we continue to shirk it until the next Convention. I think we must frankly

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say to the Party membership that we were in error.

The informant advised that the Chairman at this point interrupted WINTER to comment that his time was up, but WINTER requested an additional minute or two.

Continuing, WINTER remarked that they would have to repair some of the damage that had been done to the confidence in our Party leadership. The least we can do to repair the situation is to say to the Party membership that the National Committee should have taken the membership into its confidence before the year was up. I have opposed and I think it would be a disservice to enter into the 17th Convention under an umbrella where we do not openly present before the Party the facts. That is not the way to go into a Party Convention. That is not the way to restore confidence in Party leadership. Unless such a motion be attached to this report, I do not see how I can support it.

The informant advised that there was some discussion on the proposal made by WINTER regarding an attachment to the report of STACHEL. WINTER, in answer to a question, said again that his proposal was that instead of merely submitting this question before the 17th Convention, that they should add to the report and that every letter that is sent to the Party membership that the National Committee assumes the responsibility in a self-critical way for failure to discuss this matter with the Party.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

It is true that certain questions were left open in my report, and we cannot decide everything... I think the report should be accepted without any amendment.

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Remarks of the Chairman

The spirit of self-criticism was included in the Committee's report. It includes the essence of the amendment that CARL (WINTER) wanted to make. That is the proposition that we are voting for.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

I am sorry to say that you cannot characterize the amendment. It does not include the spirit in which I made the amendment.

Remarks of Chairman

All right, we will vote on the amendment. The amendment lost, 12 in favor, 18 against.

We now come to the main motion. All those in favor raise your hand, opposed, abstentions. The committee's report is carried by a vote of 26 in favor, 2 against and 6 abstentions.

Remarks of an Unknown Female

I want to request the comrades that starting tomorrow there be organized a brief period of time to hear a brief informational report on the question relating to Comrade LOMAN.

Remarks of the Chairman

The Legislative Committee will take this under advisement for tomorrow.

Meeting adjourned.

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SECOND DAY'S SESSION
APRIL 26, 1959

GUS HALL was elected Chairman of this session and the agenda was announced as follows:

1. Report on Youth March to Washington (held April 18, 1959.)
2. Report on CP youth program.
3. Report on Steel.

Remarks of HY LUMER

As a preliminary to my own report, I am going to read a draft statement on the Youth March presented by [redacted]
[redacted], who is not here.

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The second Youth March for integrated schools held in Washington, D.C., was perhaps the most significant political event participated in by American youth in nearly fifteen years. The background of the event, which provided the stimulus for the unprecedented number of youth participants, was as follows:

1. The Youth March last October participated in by some 12,000 marchers, whose delegation to the White House was refused admittance by President EISENHOWER.

2. The stepped-up campaign of terror against Negro youth in the South in recent months.

3. The growing popular movement against passive resistance and against the so-called massive resistance in Virginia - leadership being provided mainly by the NAACP, the Negro church and the effect of school boycott by the Negro people in Greene County, North Carolina.

4. The convening of the historic ACRA Conference and the emergence of a number of youthful African leaders in international affairs.

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Underlying these events is the growing realization among broad sections of the American people that there exists a hard core of State Governments in the South using every means at their disposal to resist the Supreme Court segregation decisions.

There were important new features of this Youth March. First among these, is that the March had the endorsement of some thirty national organizations. These organizations included labor, civic, religious, Negro, Jewish and others. In addition, there was support from nationally prominent personalities in the field of arts and sciences as well as from colleges. Of considerable importance in this respect was the endorsement of the million member National Students Association, which has several hundred chapters on college campuses throughout the country. There was also support from the NAACP Youth Council, the President of the Spanish American Youth Bureau in New York, and the United Christian Youth Movement.

These endorsements and sponsorships provided the elementary basis for the participation of a large cross-section of American Jews. Secondly, the simultaneous launching of a petition campaign, which called upon the President and Congress to initiate a legislative and executive program for desegregation of schools in the country, provided a maximum program of activity which facilitated the organizing of the Youth March. Thirdly, the participation of Negro people in the Youth March, organized largely by the NAACP Youth Councils in the churches, resulted in Negro participation being about 60 or 65 per cent of the total.

Briefly, the main achievements of the second Youth March are as follows:

1. Number of participants doubled over and above the first March, reaching around 25,000.

2. Some 400,000 signatures were collected throughout the country on the Youth March petition.

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3. This March made some important beginnings towards reaching and involving the militant youth of the South. This was particularly true on a number of college and high school campuses. Practically all Negroes came by bus, plane and auto from Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, Indiana, Tennessee and Montgomery, Alabama.

4. A large contingent of youth marched under the banner of their unions. Perhaps the most representative of these was a large delegation of youth marchers from the Municipal Employees Union in New York. Both UE (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America) and Packing House were among the unions that played a significant role in the March.

5. A small inter-racial delegation was at least admitted behind the gates of the White House and permitted to leave a statement with two of President EISENHOWER's aides. This was a small but important concession by the EISENHOWER administration.

As compared with the first Youth March last October, the recent Youth March and petition campaign had begun to exhibit the dimensions and elementary organization, and features of the youth movement. This is of great significance and further consolidation and development of this feature is of primary importance. Natural leaders are the active youth who took the initiative in organizing the circulation of the petitions and in organizing dances and other social affairs. These youth demonstrated the kind of leadership needed for a youth movement and to strengthen the program of all existing youth organizations. This movement is in the first place a movement involving the participation of youth organizations. It does not try to replace or substitute for any organization. Such a movement fulfills a great need for today's generation of youth.

The school integration struggle today is the common ground upon which all sections of the American youth population unite, work together, and move forward along the road of progress for greater educational opportunities,

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increased job opportunities, and some rounder recreational activities achieved in a world of peace. The program set forth for the youth provided a sound minimum basis for continuing and expanding the levels of youth unity already achieved. The four points of that program are as follows:

1. To continue our efforts for passage of the Douglas-Javits Bill.
2. To continue the circulation of the youth petition and to ask the Youth March National Office to arrange for the delivery of these petitions.
3. To work for the liberation from jail of ASBURY HOWARD, Jr., unjustly sentenced to the chain gang.
4. To unite for equality.

Undoubtedly the firsthand reports which the youth marchers will take back to their home towns, as well as the continued circulation of the youth petition, will keep enthusiasm high.

In order to realize the great potential which the present movement presents, it will be necessary for those identified with it to give consideration to the following problems:

1. The problem of timing and communication between youth groups over large areas. In many localities the petition campaign as well as petitions for the trip to Washington were late getting started. This was due to somewhat ineffective coordination with the National Headquarters. There was also a very limited amount of field organizing done by representatives of the National Headquarters. Much potential strength for the Youth March was not mobilized because of these deficiencies. In some local areas, certain individuals, who accepted responsibility for coordinating the March, fulfilled the responsibility in a very sluggish manner or not at all.

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2. The very negligible participation by the Washington, D.C., community reflected the fact that advanced planning designed to guarantee involvement of the Washington community was quite inadequate. Washington is literally a university city with thousands of students. Further, its population has experienced segregation. Further than this, many of the national organizations, which endorsed the Youth March, have headquarters in Washington. Washington, D.C., remains a yet untapped source of strength in regard to Youth Marches.

3. The present moment is a timely one for beginning to shift the reins of the policy-making more and more into the hands of the youth leaders of the movement. Adult advisers should advise but not impose unnecessary restrictions on youth activities. This is the only way to encourage the initiative, creative thinking and planning of young people. Establishing a proper relationship between youth leaders and adult advisers will lend stability to the Youth March and facilitate its growth. In general, all of the adult recipients of the Youth March citations made constructive contributions to the ideology of the Youth March in their acceptance speeches. The outstanding address delivered by Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING of Montgomery could be singled out for special commendation. Dr. KING's clear and sensible analysis of the significance of the democratic struggle for the ballot in the South and his exhortation to each and every unit to "become a dedicated fighter for civil rights" will long be remembered by those in attendance. In a somewhat opposite vein, and the source of much disappointment, was the speech by Mr. A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH. The youth marchers were assembled out of concern with how to get the Federal Government to halt the crime in Alabama. Mr. RANDOLPH gave over much of his speech to some ideas about holding Communism in Africa. His vocal exercises on the subject of what he calls "Russian Communism in the Berlin Crisis," fell upon the ears of the young people assembled who were concerned with the situation where Negro ministers and labor leaders are beaten, jailed and put on the chain gang.

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Perhaps Mr. RANDOLPH feels that cultivating anti-Communism among the youth is a way to curry favors from the powers that be. But the youth are not asking favors. They are asking for the Constitutional right, which is their heritage as Americans. They are seeking the President of the United States and Congress to perform the duties prescribed in their oath of office --that is, to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

This is, as I said, a draft statement. Now I would like to proceed to give you some aspects of the youth program.

Now on the subject of Party youth work and organization, you've all received copies of the report on Party youth work adopted by the NEC. There are copies available here. It is not my intention to present all of it again, rather I want to elaborate on some points and to develop more fully the main point with which the report deals, namely, the question of a youth organization. You cannot overemphasize on the importance of the youth question. The future of the Party lies with the youth. Our long delay in coming to grips with work in this field is a serious failure on our part, of which we must take due note.

As for the report, it should be clear that long overdue though it is, it is only an initial report. It undertakes to outline a policy with regard to Party youth work and youth organization. The study of the youth question should include detailed examination of the present economic and social status of the American youth -- of the thinking and attitude of young people today, all of which is missing in my particular report. The basic problems of youth in a capitalist society remain the same. There have been a number of changes of some significance since the days of the 30's and World War II. For one thing, there has been a considerable rise during these years of the proportion of youth attending school beyond the age of 16. Thus, the census figures show from 1920 to 1950 the proportion of 16 year old youths in school rose from 51 per cent to 81 per cent.

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The proportion of 17 year olds rose from 35 per cent to 65 per cent, 18 year olds from 22 per cent to 40 per cent, and 19 year olds from 8 per cent to 18 per cent. These are very substantial increases and in recent years since 1950, this rise has continued. This means that the student youth comprises a much larger part of the whole than it did twenty or thirty years ago. Their problems assume correspondingly greater weight. At the same time a large part of the teen-age group today, both in and out of school, are employed or seeking to work full or part-time. In October, 1956, for example two and one-half million in the 14-17 year old age group had jobs. This comprises one-quarter of the total population of this age group. The main reason for this large group of school-age youth working is poverty. About nine and one-half million American children in 1955 came from families earning less than \$45 per week. Two and one-half million of these came from families whose cash income was only \$10.00 per week. Some 700,000 of these were employed in agriculture. A large proportion of these, along with their parents, were migrant farm workers. This economic situation has not improved within the past few years. Perhaps there are less teen-age youngsters employed today but if this is so, it is not because their need is less, but because there are less jobs. Indeed, it is the youth who have been especially hard hit by unemployment. In the 14 to 17 year old age group, the rate of unemployment in February of this year was 15 per cent, and in the 18-20 year old age group, it was 14 per cent, as against a national average of 7 per cent. As a matter of fact in the age group below 20, the rate of unemployment was considerably above the average. Here we have among other things, a whole series of persistent problems with regard to vocational guidance, job placement, assurance of employment, proper standards of employment, etc.

Among Negro workers, the rate of joblessness is rated by official figures as being double that of white persons. It would appear that unemployment among Negro youth ranges from about 30 per cent to 50 per cent. This is truly a problem of gigantic proportions. As in the thirties, problems of jobs is now beginning to come to the

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fore once again. Not only among Negro youth but in the so-called stress areas, generally the problem is already a very acute one.

The effects of unemployment are more severe today. There has been a lowering of the average age of marriage and many more young adults are married people with children and with problems approximating those of their elders. Moreover, a large section of youth, who are unable to find work, are today ineligible for any form of unemployment compensation. Today's crisis has developed during a period of prosperity and, as such, it is a testimonial to the inability of American capitalism, which cannot only afford some forty million for armament but clamors for much more than that, to provide anything approximating an adequate education for youth organization.

According to Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, there is today a shortage of 140 thousand classrooms and 135 thousand teachers. This shortage is growing — not shrinking. Federal aid for education is kicked around in Congress year after year and gets nowhere. In our colleges and universities tuition fees are already at astronomical levels and continue to rise. A recent survey covering twenty colleges shows that the average yearly income of families of scholarship recipients is \$7,500 as against the national average of some \$5,000. The deterioration of our educational system has been proceeding over a period of many years. Since the advent of Sputnik, the eyes of the American people have been opened to the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet educational system. The deficiencies in the American system have become more glaring. As for the segregated educational facilities available to Negro youth, it is scarcely necessary here to dwell in detail on the gross inferiority of these, not only in the South but in the North as well. This is today a national scandal and the cause for shame for our country. It has become also, as the Youth March indicates, a focal point of mass struggle. What should be noted here, however, is that there is a general process of deterioration of our educational system. This process is most pronounced in the facilities available to Negroes.

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There are other problems as well, which I will not attempt to deal with at all. The problem of juvenile delinquency is another major ill of our capitalist system. These in brief are the problems which currently face the youth of this country. The type of youth organization which exists today is chiefly a service organization, devoted to provide recreation, sports, education activity of various kind, etc. There are NAACP groups, YMCA, YWCA and others. These, as well as other major youth organizations, urgently need extensive study. The emergence of a fresh upsurge in these carries the potential of development of new mass organizations devoted to the fight for jobs and similar struggles. The Youth March represented a resurgence of a youth movement - the beginnings of a new awakening of a mass of American youth. For the past decade, there has been inactivity because of intimidation and a period of relative capitalist prosperity. There is a growing awareness and concern among wide sections of the young people. This spontaneous movement should not be left to itself, but should have the participation of the Party. This means, first of all, that the Party must fulfill its own responsibility in the field of youth movement. It must have its own program. Youth work must be considered the work of the entire Party. It cannot be relegated to the youth alone. The tendency to do this in the past has injured the work. Of particular importance is a program for jobs for youth. There is need for a movement for a National Youth Act in the CP legislative program, calling for a national youth agency of the type discussed in the 1930's. Today we believe there is a place for a Youth Act with considerably broader scope than was projected in the thirties.

Finally, I want to call attention to one of the immediate spheres of activity to which we need to give greater importance, namely, the Youth Festival being held in Vienna. This Festival has created a great interest and there are greater possibilities of a wider and more representative delegation from this country than at any time in the past. The possibility exists for the development after the Festival of a movement and activity of far reaching

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consequences for world friendship and peace. Much more work is needed yet to realize these potentialities. In some areas —New York, Chicago, and California in particular, extensive activity is going on and there are already a substantial number of prospective delegates. There are many parts of the country in which little or nothing is being done at the moment to guarantee delegations. Time is getting short. There is much that can still be done. This should be given serious attention and plans should be taken to insure a minimum attendance from all areas. All of the districts have received material containing the necessary information and more is available here.

To touch on the youth organization, this has been the subject of much discussion to date in and around the Party in the past years. Since the dissolution of the LYL, the situation has been rather a chaotic one, as reported here. Today there is a combination of organizations ranging all the way from Party youth clubs, to loose non-Party groups of all kinds. Among all of these there is little or no coordination. In a number of areas such as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles, there exists one or more Party youth clubs, the membership consists principally of young adults. The majority of districts have no specific organization or apparatus of any kind. There are numerous non-Party organizations. In Philadelphia, there is a Socialist group whose membership includes both Party and non-Party youth. In New York, an outstanding example is this Committee on Progressive Education - SCORE - which has organized Marxist classes, chiefly among college students with more than 100 enrolled at one time. In Washington State, the LYL did not dissolve at the time of the national dissolution, but continued. However, it reoriented itself, turning its attention primarily to teen-age youths. It is presently existing as the Young Explorers League in that State. Finally, there are a great variety of teen-age groups of a non-Marxist character, although there is Marxist guidance or leadership in varying degrees. These are built around various cultural or social activities and have also engaged to some degree in political activity. The existence of these groups is an important development. One striking feature of

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the situation is the intense interest in Marxist education — particularly among the students. In Chicago and a number of other places, there are classes for teen-age groups. There is a widespread demand for classes and education. A word should be said about other youth organizations. After the dissolution of the LYL, the Trotskyites initiated a Social alliance, which for a time operated under the guise of a United Socialist organization. It attracted some of the former LYL members, but these soon were disillusioned by their contact with the Trotskyites. As a result, they left these organizations.

Among the youth in and around the Party, there is a considerable divergence of opinion as to the establishment of a new youth organization. As was considered in the report itself, one section consisting of Party groups proposes the setting up of such an organization that should be carried on within the Party. An organizational apparatus based on Party youth clubs and possibly a youth division. If a national youth organization is to be formed at all, it should be broad and non-Marxist. At the other extreme is a group which advocated formation of what they term a Marxist Communist organization. Membership would be limited to those professing an interest in Marxist principles. The third section supports the formation of a Marxist organization but believes it should be much broader in character. In the opinion of the NEC, which has held extensive discussions, there is a very definite need and place for a Socialist youth organization right now. What kind of an organization should it be? On this question, the NEC has said that we cannot and should not attempt a blueprint of such an organization. It is possible to picture in broad outline what kind of organization it ought to be. It should be an organization capable of developing mass activity and of reaching out to the growing number of youth, who through their own involvement in the struggle, begin to look to progressive youth and Socialists. It should be an organization which could educate such groups with respect to the nature of Socialism and with respect to Socialist countries.

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Among other things, there is the problem of legality. We should do everything possible to encourage those who seek the formation of a nation-wide Socialist youth organization. We should support those, who in seeking to form such an organization, are guided by the following principles:

1. The organization should be broad in its popular appeal and seek to establish a united cooperation in activities with other organizations of a progressive character.
2. It should be broad, flexible and democratic and should admit into its ranks both Communists and other Marxist-oriented and progressive young people who are interested in participating.
3. It should be based on solidarity and cooperation with:
 - a. All struggles of the American working class and
 - b. All struggles of the Negro people for equality and eradication of all forms of racial discrimination.
4. It should maintain friendly, cooperative relations with other organizations of the working class.
5. It should have a positive attitude toward the Socialist countries and should work for peace and friendship.
6. It should be based on solidarity and friendship with peoples throughout the world and should support all peoples' struggles for independence and liberation from imperialist domination.

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There is a need for a Socialist youth organization, but it must not be narrow, for it would then be small and isolated. The history of the YCL illustrates some of the problems. The YCL was intended to be a broad organization, but in its early days it developed as a secretarian group which was unable to continue in the days of the factionalist struggles of the Party. The AYD was set up as a broad organization but later much of its basic thinking was changed and it did not long survive the war. The final organization was the LYL in 1949.

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Remarks of HY LUMER (Cont'd)

LUMER proposed that a youth conference be held Memorial Day weekend to take up the question of mass activities and to hold further discussions of a youth organization. He continued that there should be a general youth conference in the Fall looking toward the establishment of a youth organization. He enumerated the following proposals:

- 1) Every effort should be made to widen the work of the Party in the youth movement.
- 2) The Party should do all it can to help youth groups and to establish a nation-wide organization.
- 3) The Party should help all committees and support all kinds of local organizations.
- 4) Teenage groups should be urged to set up some kind of coordination for youthful exchange of ideas.
- 5) The efforts should be made to establish a youth page in "The Worker".
- 6) A committee should be established to look into youth publications.
- 7) A discussion bulletin should follow the National Committee meeting.

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- 8) Establish a national education department.
- 9) Set up a youth commission.
- 10) Establish a youth party directory and Party youth clubs with qualified youth cadre.

LUMER mentioned that a subcommittee of the NEC had been formed to look into the composition of a National Youth Committee. He said that the subcommittee members are WILLIAM ALBERTSON, IRVING POTASH and HY LUMER.

In reply to questions, LUMER said that it is not in the province of the National Committee to set a time limit for the formation of a youth organization. He noted that no study had been made of youth groups in other countries. He also noted that there probably would be a broad similarity between the proposed organization and the Labor Youth League, but said he was not prepared to spell out the differences. He said that there was no general opposition to the formation of such an organization, but that no national poll had been taken.

Remarks of TED BASSETT

BASSETT referred to the Youth March on Washington and said that while estimates on the number participating varied, it appeared that the account given by the Washington Police of 26,000 participants was probably correct. He mentioned that while other means of transportation were used, it was known that 419 bus loads of youth arrived in Washington.

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BASSETT was critical of the speech given by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and recalled that as part of the announcement that Communists were not invited to participate it was also stated that neither were the Ku Klux Klan or the white citizens councils invited.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY expressed general agreement with LUMER's report, but opposed the composition of the subcommittee stating that there should be younger people on it. She observed that a youth club had been set up in Los Angeles and took exception of the fact that the West Coast was not invited to preliminary discussions on this matter. LUMER replied that the subcommittee was merely for preliminary work and was not a permanent body.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS spoke of the legality of a youth organization and felt that the March on Washington and similar activities served to stimulate the youth movement. MEYERS was critical of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH claiming that he hammered away at the unity of the Negro people while "kids listened eagerly."

Remarks of Individual People to be
(FNU) MC ADOO from Detroit

Comrade LUMER has presented only one side. It is said that this group is a Fascist Group. (The speaker is here apparently referring to a group known as the "call group") It was never mentioned that this group participated in the youth march.

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Let us speak briefly on the NEC report. I do not find myself in disagreement with the fundamental ideas set forth in the first part of the meeting. I do find myself in disagreement with the formulation of the six principles that a youth organization be formed. There are errors of omission in the report; what does the report mean when it says the principles of the organization should be broad;? What does it mean by flexible? Does it mean the recognition that the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are forced from peace? Does it mean a statement of this I want to say that I cannot speak for myself as well as a number of other youths. I have to say that there have been many errors committed by this group (referring to "the call group") and to say that the group does stand corrected. We have been described as "factional" but we have not intended to carry on a factional struggle. We have also been characterized as an "ultra left faction". None of us knew this. We are not in the party to leave the party. We do not hold "vanguardist" views and any views so stated we stand corrected on. I do want to say that there are youths in Michigan who have high views of the party but will not expect an organization that does not guarantee that the LYI will not come to life again.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be FLO HALL

This individual said that 412 persons from Chicago had participated in the youth march. She said that of this number, "We" favored 25. She claimed that Chicago had brought 104,000 signatures for the petition. According to this speaker the youth commission in Chicago was important in bringing about the success of the representation from that area, and that there are two party youth groups and two teenage groups in Chicago.

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In closing her remarks she stated "I favor the report and express the opinion of youth in Chicago ...".

Remarks of GUS HALL

Somebody says that Mexico is a short cut to Kansas - Don't buy it ! These are my first remarks after eight years. While I was following newspaper accounts and scattered reports I wasn't sure what would be here when I got out. The fact that you are is a truely great tribute to the indestructibility of the science of Marxism - Leninism. Inspite of advances and turmoils the Party came through in the best possible shape. I also spent some time in prison thinking over the past and evaluating the past. I came to the conclusion not like GATES. His thinking was distorted.

HALL urged a . stepped up national amnesty campaign for WINSTON and GREEN. He recalled the statement in JACKSON's report that "our mother party feels good because of the simple fact that the CP, USA exists," and then observed that he shared these feelings. HALL asserted the need for self-criticism in that the CP is not dealing with the thoughts of the masses but operates in an abstract sense. He noted that the CP has no long-range perspective. He concluded that the CP cannot sacrifice the cadre for immediate needs.

Remarks of HOMER CHASE

Comrades, when I received this copy of the report on youth I certainly was, as I think we all are, pleased that we are moving on this question. Certainly we are pleased that time is being given to this discussion. Now it would seem that we have to approach this problem with the position that what are the main problems, the

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main immediate problems facing the youth in the party. Now you would think that we can agree that these are peace liberation of the Negro people and jobs. Then we have to ask ourselves which I think is the crux of this whole discussion. These problems can be resolved in this country without a massive Leninist youth organization. I think we have to answer in the negative. The problem will not be resolved without an organization which makes the youth organization based on the principles of the teachings of Marxism and Leninism. Now I am not going into any detail on why it is necessary to have a youth organization and why adults cannot serve as leaders for our youth organization. I would like to submit that without such an organization the leaders here will have to come from one of two sources - either from this party here of adult Communists or from non-Marxist Leninists. Obviously if we approach this question in this manner you see the difficulty that faces us unless we have a perspective.

I go along with the report that on many of their preparatory moves, conferences, etcetera - that unless we have a perspective of Marxist - Leninist youth organizations you are not going to resolve a problem of cadre. You are going to be in the position of attempting to amass these schools described as the exact path that we tried when we were young. Now I would suggest that in future documents more attention be given to the history and study of the Young Communist League. There is much to learn from the Young Communist League. There seems to be a feeling in the party that this was some kind of narrow material grouping but the fact is that the main characteristic of the Young Communist League was the breadth of the struggle that was engendered in the youth of the United States. I do not think it is so important that in time the Young Communist League attempted to get ahead of the party to criticize the party. There are far more important lessons to be drawn from the history of the Young Communist League. I am not proposing an

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organization which necessarily has the name "Communist" in it, but I am not proposing an organization which is merely a junior organization of the CP. I certainly recognize that the objective situation is difficult than what it was when the Young Communist League was engaged in the great work that it did do. Nevertheless I think we have a lot to learn from them.

Somewhat briefly there is another concern. It seems to me that this document doesn't have one word about the special problem of the youth organization of the south. I think it is most important for Marxist-Leninists in the United States to consider the question of a youth organization in the south. In New England we had a youth organization up until 1956. It was dissolved. Not because of objective situations primarily, but because of the line of policy. That line was expressed to the sons and daughters of Communists in the organization and instead of taking steps to increase the membership, we had to dissolve it. The main problem we find in New England in youth work is to re-establish work in this field. In New England, as far as the youth question is concerned, the main problem has been a line. I don't want to use an overworked phrase but the problem has been no youth organization whatsoever. It's not the Leftist problem and I get the feeling from this report that the way that we come out of the special problem is again being thrown against the left danger. Actually, the main danger in this problem is not the left danger. It is those people who have to put forth the policy that has resulted in no organization whatsoever. Furthermore comrades, I am deeply concerned about the problem of winning the youth for a line. I do not think that we should adopt a line here on this youth question until we have indicated that we can win the youth. I think that there are strong indications that in many areas this hasn't been discussed sufficiently with the youth and that we haven't done enough work along that line. We haven't listened to the youth.

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One of the things that concerns me in this report is that it is criticizing the April '1958 document. The comrades couldn't find one point of agreement on the youth in all of this article, yet I think we have to have that kind of approach to youth - a positive approach as we will call it. I am further concerned as I indicated in my question that we haven't sufficiently studied the experiences of parties in other lands on the youth question. As the comrades indicated they haven't even studied the youth organizations in this country. We are up to the point where we are proposing a youth organization with no democratic centralism. Well comrades, there is not a youth organization in the country without democratic centralism. This is certainly going to the extreme to put it mildly. Therefore, I would urge that Comrade LUMER table this document for the present time and come back after more study on this question and let us welcome the good work that has been done. Let us welcome the fact that it has been started.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

I would like to add two additional factors on the questions of the objective conditions, that I think HY dealt with quite well. One of them is the calculated result of the conspiracy of reaction against the democratic tradition in this country - a result that it had gained from this conspiracy. There is the result of the latest polls taken among teenagers in America which indicated to some extent at least part of the problem that we have to consider in terms of what our immediate organizational conclusions will be as far as building a Marxist - Leninist Movement among youth. Let me give some facts. More than half of our teenagers will believe this censorship of books, magazines, newspapers, radio and television is all right. More than half believe that the FBI and local police should be allowed to use wire-tapping at will - that the police should be permitted to

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use the third degree - that people who refuse to testify against themselves should be forced to do so. About half of our teenagers assert that most people aren't capable of saying what is best for themselves. Fully 75% declared that obedience and respect for authority are the most important habits for children to learn.

Now this of course is one part of the picture of American youth as has been regarded here already today.

Contrasted to this picture, is that of the conclusion based on extensive research made by the Young Democrats of California regarding U.S. policy toward China. These are their conclusions(1): the present U.S. policy toward China is based on false assumption and ignores important political and economic factors. (2) The present policy does enjoy the support of most informed Americans.

(3) The continuance of this policy is due to the efforts of a small but well financed special interest group whose chief spokesman are KNOWLAND, STYLES BRIDGES, PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ALFRED (KOEHLER?) and FRANCIS E. WALTHERS.

(4) U.S. China policy is the cause of friction with important friendly nations. (5) U.S. support of CHIANG Kai-shek lowers American prestige by associating this country with corrupt dictatorship. Finally " U.S. policy toward China is not in the national interest of the U.S. and should be changed. It would seem to me comrades that these are part of the factors - the two sided picture of American youth that we have to reckon with. On the one hand we have the enormous growing pressure of MC CARTHYISM in this country, and on the other the stubbornness and persistence with which our youth continued to fight for that democratic tradition that has been part of the working class and democratic struggle for this country.

After furnishing some statistics concerning the number of youth applying for scholarships etc., HEALEY said that the development of a united youth program with a fight for scholarship for working class youths was most important. She was of the opinion that fighting on this

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and like issues in existing peoples organization would ultimately result in the desired development of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS expressed the opinion that the report on youth was a sound one. He said that within the framework of the report he would like to make a couple of "capsule characterizations" which he thought should be mentioned. He remarked that he felt that the National Committee at this meeting has the job of giving a certain orientation and a certain direction and of trying to recapture the initiative with respect to this question. He said that it should not drag along and wait until youth must take the initiative and thereby place the party in the position of just saying "this is right and this is wrong." He continued that the party must immediately, aggressively and boldly take the initiative on this question. According to DAVIS, LUMER's report gave the party the opportunity to do just this.

DAVIS mentioned the possibility of factionalism and said that wherever such factionalism arises among the youth it must be broken up. He said that there should be a policy of trying to win them over after we have acted under the influence of factional ideas. DAVIS agreed that there was the necessity for a youth organization and said that LUMER's report represents the best LENINIST application of the means to bring about such an organization.

DAVIS then discussed the youth march on Washington and described it as a real people's coalition made up of Negroes, trade unionists and youth organizations. He said that there were more Negro leaders and a greater Negro representation than there was of whites. He attributed the success of the march to this factor. DAVIS was also critical of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH for his speech at the gathering of youth in Washington. According to DAVIS, RANDOLPH has been a

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"redbaiter" for some 34 years. He claimed that during the period that RANDOLPH was in the AF of L he used to strongly raise the question of discrimination against Negro workers but the fact remains he was a "redbaiter". DAVIS continued that the capitalist forces whom RANDOLPH represents are forces that still have the Negro people in bondage and oppression. Because of this marches are still necessary in an effort to relieve the burden of the Negro people.

Remarks of BEN DOBBS

I'm in the newspaper business and I can get away with that. Well comrades, the chief merit of Comrade LUMER's report, it seems to me, is that it represents an adequate summary of our knowledge and experience at this point. If it doesn't say more I think for one thing that it is because we don't know more. I think there is a great deal of harm in saying more than what you know, because that is when you run into trouble. When this issue was discussed at district committee meetings, the greatest fear was expressed that somebody was trying to put a blueprint over on us. At that time we didn't have HYMAN LUMER's report and I think that this report brings these fears to rest. Insofar as the policy presented here today, I think we should support that policy. While everybody in New York is saying we don't want a blueprint, nevertheless pretty soon we want to amend this and we want to amend that and the next thing you emerge with the blueprint that you didn't want at the outset.

I think we ought to take Comrade HALL's advice to heart with respect to this question - about trying to scent the move. Now we have not done the work in the recent past that cost us the experience - we haven't got the grapevine as yet to proceed with spelling out or participating in a leading way in spelling out the specific forms at this point of a National Marxist Youth organization.

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In the district our theory was that what we ought to do now is everything we can to organize youth on a . . . basis. Wherever forms suggest themselves and then after maybe organizing some 100 or 200 in Northern California, and getting a little experience under our belt then we feel that we might be in a position to fruitfully participate in shaping a socialist youth organization. In this connection, the experience of the youth march was very valuable. I think a good job was done in Northern California in getting delegates to this march. As you know it costs an awful lot of money to go from San Francisco to Washington. More important in the process is that in Alameda County some 15 teenagers were brought together to participate in this activity. Now they want to organize on a permanent basis. In San Francisco some of the former LYL'ers who had drifted away were drawn back and now view things altogether differently and want to organize. I think if we follow up at least on this level we will have organized two youth groups and will have begun to develop the experience by which you would be . . . in concert with a movement of the masses.

The experiences of youth organizations in the past and the zigs and zags of the youth movement paralleled certain developments in our party. A study of what has happened in the past is important to see that our approach at this time is correct. We can then proceed to the development of a socialist youth organization on a national scale with all speed.

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REMARKS OF JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON said that he thought LUMER's report was a valuable contribution, and that he felt the Party's work in the youth field will progress as a result of this report. JACKSON was of the opinion that immediately after the conference there should be a party program set up for youth. JACKSON said that he felt the strategic organizational task of the Party was to work as skillfully and energetically as possible to stimulate into organized activities the masses of the youth. JACKSON described as some of the urgent needs of the young people the struggle against war, the struggle against segregation and the desire to live in fraternal brotherhood. He said that of primary importance is the removal of racial barriers that divided the young generation and frustrated their endeavors. He then spoke of the need of the young generation to secure their right to jobs and right to study further in school, et cetera. JACKSON then placed the question, "Who is going to rally and establish this huge broad mass organization of the young people?" He answered by saying that no one but the Communists have the perception or have at their disposal the wealth and practical means to provide this service. JACKSON continued, "Now how are we to get leadership for such a mass formation that is obviously needed?" He answered by saying that it means that we have to provide that select force of the young generation with leadership. It seems that we have to meet this need of providing a leadership for bringing into being this mass youth movement in a twofold fashion. We have to have an approach of organizing the youth. Some of the youth now in the Communist Party and under the direct influence of the Communist Party will be a specialized leadership in the responsibility to this broad youth formation. Secondly, and this is the important issue, in our discussion there will be a need and there is the urgency of bringing into being such new socialist oriented grouping of the youth who are immediate friends and associates of our present young Communists. Some of these youth now in the Communist Party would preserve a Communist function in this organization.

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In a broad youth organization, young Communist Party members would function in its leadership and this would be the schooling, so to speak, for the cadre of the mass organization that is required for the whole generation.

REMARKS OF HELEN WINTER

The youth question has a special history in our country. Let us remember that two Marxist-Leninist youth organizations have been fostered in the past and have been dissolved. Now this in itself creates a negative kind of background for trying to organize a new youth organization. I think that generally speaking, the report from Comrade LUMER is a great one and that the general perspectives set forth in the report are the one that should guide us.

It is necessary for a Party-wide discussion which should involve particularly all of the Comrades who are active in previous youth organizations. We can call on their experience so that we can do what is necessary to set up a permanent youth organization, an organization which won't be dissolved again. Although I support the general line of Comrade LUMER's report, I also think that in principle the construction is not concrete. The formulations are too loose.

I think that we really should get moving as soon as possible and lead a national conference of young Communists.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM ALBERTSON

Comrades, there are possibly 9,000 members who went to Washington from New York on the youth march. I think we can say that practically every Party organization

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was involved in the work of building the youth march - whether it was comrades who were working in the community to organize bus loads, whether there were Party people in mass organizations which themselves were organizing for the youth march, or whether it was comrades who were doing nothing more than soliciting signatures on a petition. The Party was in the thick of this movement and it is one of the movements, and in my opinion one of the most mass movements in the recent period, from which the Party was not isolated. Although we should say that many of these 9,000 came from sources with which the Party had (no?) contact, that nevertheless a large part of these 9,000 young people came as a result of the activities, the stimulation of the organization by the Party and its membership. I don't know exactly what the plans of the youth march leadership may be with respect to the follow up of the youth march. Nevertheless, we do know that activity is being planned and that in this situation, it is not necessary for everybody to sit back until plans have been formulated and people informed of them in order to begin a new movement for the next stage of the youth integration problem.

There were close to 30,000 young people in Washington from all over the country. It certainly would not help the new stage of the integration fight if a large part of these 30,000 young people were not organized between now and the coming events of September and October. There is no reason why the young people who came on buses or the young people who came from particular towns or localities or the young people who came from particular organizations should not be able to find among themselves the possibility of sticking together. They could organize themselves into all kinds of clubs, ordinary social clubs to clubs playing for integration or into forms for the collection of more signatures. It seems to me that this could be done

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just as some of the comrades in New York and have worked to set up an organization called the Committee to Combat Prejudices. If these youth would stick together we would see in this city, not to speak of the country, hundreds of small but meaningfully large struggles for Negro rights and especially for the rights of Negro youth.

This reminds me of the CIO organizers when people were not too much worried and correctly so about what was going on on top. The top was moving to organize the other organs. They were giving the lead to organize the other organizations. Down below there were many Communists, including people who hadn't seen the inside of a shop for years, who became the organizers for the local unions and became leaders.

I agree with some of the things that DOROTHY (HEALY) said of the struggle which the youth have to achieve and I agree with JIM (JACKSON) for instance on the need for building a rock formation of the young generation, but it is my opinion from the little knowledge I have that it is almost impossible an achievement without a block of Communists and other socialist minded youth who are not yet ready to be Communists. For all the reasons indicated in LUMER's report, together with what I have said I think it is necessary that we set up an advanced organization of a group which one might say is dedicated to certain fine objectives or principles. I think this organization has got to be dedicated to bringing Marxian socialist ideas to non Party youth. I think that is an extremely important thing to do while the Party and those in alliance with the Party are working to set up this broad democratic movement which is so much needed at this time. I think that this organization must be

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dedicated to the task of participating in the struggle for the everyday needs of the youth. I think this organization has to educate its own members in the science of Marx and Lenin. I think it has to sit up because it is a youth organization and not an adult organization all kinds or forms of organizations which are attracted to youth.

Lastly I want to welcome personally the remarks made by Comrade MC ADOO because these remarks showed a recognition of the fact that the Party has over the past number of months been self critical of the fact that its leadership at that time was responsible for the liquidation of the YCL and of the LYL itself. I must say, however, on the question of factionalism that when certain things are done no matter who does them we cannot have a different name for it when one person does it and a different name for it when someone else does it. It has one meaning whether a young comrade does this thing or an adult comrade does this thing - if it be factionalism we have to say that it is factionalism so that Comrade MC ADOO who has only been here a month or perhaps two months does not know the history of the situation. The establishment of a group which met by themselves without the Party and made decisions as to what would take place within the Party followed by the organization of a conference to set up a Marxist youth organization without the participation of the Party leadership in the preparation of such an event can only be characterized as factional methods of work. But in characterizing it as such, I want to reiterate that a number of these comrades, not all of them, by now have dropped these methods of work during the past number of weeks. Let's say since the conference on April 4 which did not set up the youth organization,

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a number are working much more closely with the Party and a number have learned that things cannot be done without the Party. As a result I believe we are establishing the basis on which these comrades as Party members together with the Party leadership will be in a position to have a united struggle for the establishment of a kind of youth organization in New York that the Party says is required by the situation.

REMARKS OF BERT NELSON

To be as brief as possible, I support the report read here by Comrade LUMER, not because it imposes a name without flaw and is perfection, but because it travels soundly in the direction of meeting the needs of American youth as we collectively see and understand - the viewpoint that widely is supported by our experiences with the young political explorers of Washington, an organization that came into being as a result of the dissolution of the LYL. With respect to this group in Washington, we found that there were within this group a certain small number who probably belonged with the Party.

NELSON continued with a discussion of the youth group in Washington and then made reference to the factional role of AL LANNON among the youth on the West Coast. He noted that LANNON is writing letters and making telephone calls. In conclusion, NELSON asked that the ideas of the youth of Washington be solicited in the event a national youth conference is held. He pointed out that the youth from this state may not be able to attend such a conference for financial reasons.

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REMARKS OF TOM NABRIED

In Pennsylvania we have a youth club. This youth club over the last year has just about doubled its membership. It is working and has been a major force in helping to mobilize the youth march. Were it not for the work that was carried out by our young comrades on the March in Philadelphia, it would have fallen far short. It has successfully continued to work from one margin into the other and there is now the prospect of going out and getting thousands of subscriptions. I agree with ALBERTSON that we should go back to the various districts and utilize those people who participated in the youth march in order to force them out of obscurity. I would like to say in closing that in our district we hope to continue to strengthen and build the March and in the process of building the March, to strengthen and build the Party.

REMARKS OF ARNOULD JOHNSON

Let us discuss fully the true meaning of the march. I submit for all of us the very fact that 26,000 youth went to Washington is something significant in American history. We have to raise our sights as to the character of the march. There is the question of what organizational form may come out of it. Throughout the country discussions are going on among youth and youth organizations concerning the recognition of China and the solution of the Berlin problem. If we are going to make a contribution, a full contribution toward the struggle for peace there is a requirement of an approach toward a youth organization.

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REMARKS OF MICKEY LIMA

Go west young man you can have more than five minutes. In various ways here it has been pointed out that youth as a group has special characteristics. I would like to go into that as soon as I can in five minutes. Now this is true of youth not only here in America, but youth in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world. What are these special characteristics? First of all, they lack experience and certainly this is true of youth everywhere and has a lot of significance and a lot of importance and particularly on this question of mistakes. Mistakes made by youth have a different quality than mistakes made by older people. We must be much more tolerant of their mistakes and must view them differently. We have to be very careful of how we treat ideas of youth. All too often youth who enter any organization, including our own, who very hesitantly put forth their first idea are sometimes jumped on in a way that it takes them five years before they ever express themselves again. But likewise this lack of experience has its negative qualities. Youth are much more apt to go off on tangents. I think that if we want to take an extreme, it is a recognized fact that of the people who were misled in the Hungarian revolt a very large section of them were youth. I think there is a reason for it. In addition to the lack of experience a special feature of youth is their tremendous enthusiasm and invincibility. I think we all will admit that as we get older we lose a bit of that. Yet youth everywhere has this special quality and it is a wonderful thing they can and will be harnessed in this youth organization that we are establishing.

One mistake which has often been made is the exploitation of youth in treating them as somebody to go out and do all the dirty work such as handing out

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leaflets and so on. I know I can cite some youth who were permanently antagonized by the progressive movement because of the way their parents and certain others misused their enthusiasm and willingness. On the positive side, of course, the youth march to Washington is a good demonstration of what happens when this tremendous enthusiasm of a few is mobilized. Another special feature of youth is that their minds are much more open to ideas. Despite all the McCarthyism and everything else, the majority of the youth will lend an ear to almost anything, whether it is beatnick, yoga or Marxism-Leninism, they want to hear about it and discuss it. This is a great and valuable thing. Consequently, ideas or the discussion of ideas assume importance in the youth organization. I happened to come up through a brief membership in the AYD. I hesitate to mention it because it was labeled as revisionist, but I know and I recall it was this tremendous interest in the discussion of ideas.

I for one would be very concerned with helping any youth organization. We give them the advice they want and help them in every way they want, but we should be careful not to take too much initiative in telling them what to do.

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Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Comrades, to divert a little bit, I was really inspired by the speech that was made here by GUS (HALL), but I think all good things have another side. I'm inclined to think that based on the discussion, we not only get punch drunk, but we lost the ability to dream dreams any more. We get to a point where we just go along with that one line. Here we sit, a national committee, two weeks after a very historical event trying to "fix out" with young people in Washington. Gentlemen, I didn't think there has been such a movement even in the days of the '30s. The biggest movement I remember in those days was the Bonus March. At that time, some 20 or 25,000 gents went to Washington. Here we sit two weeks after the event (corrected from the audience to one week) and we don't have the time to make the proper judgement concerning this particular experience.

Now let us not talk about this as a movement. It is not a movement yet Comrades. It has no cohesion yet and in order to continue it has to have some cohesion. With the experience they gained from it, are they going to wait to the next march? I don't think so. I think without getting out of contact with the locomotive that brought the 26,000 together, we can find the lines on a local level to give it more cohesion and this is not in a sectarian manner. School integration is not only their problem, but it is also ours. Every city has the school integration problem. It would appear to me that on the basis of the very program for which the youth went to Washington, it would be possible on the local level to take local aspects of the question of school integration and hold this movement together and enlarge upon it.

There has been quite a bit of discussion and agitation going on in Washington in connection with how schools integrated in Chicago, but it has been in a discussion state. If the affairs which went to Washington can be held together on the basis of a continuation of a local struggle, the possibility is there for 50,000 to

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participate in a march one year from now. So I want to emphasize one point and that is in every locality, we could fill with thought not to take the movement, not to regiment it, but to let its own "naturalness" define its form to make it live.

On the basis of a decision of the District Board of Illinois, I went to a leading trade unionist and found that some of our people had told him about it (apparently the Youth March). He said you are dreaming. I got to run into this fellow a few weeks ago and I asked him about those dreams and we talked about it. The point that I'm trying to make is that we are paralyzed from the period in which left initiative rebuffed so often the sectarian efforts that we don't seem to be able to take left initiative anymore under the new conditions.

Remarks of HY LUMER

I appreciate very much the discussion here today. I think it has been a very useful one. I have a feeling that we are getting off the ground and getting somewhere. I have only a few points I want to raise very briefly. In connection with the discussion on this subject, I think one point that GUS (HALL) made in his remarks is worth expressing and that is our isolation from the "working" class. This is true with regard to our youth work. The bulk of the job is yet to be done and I think, therefore, that one of the main tasks that we must set ourselves in youth work is this process of getting into the mass movement with both feet.

Secondly, the question of self-criticism must be raised at a number of points of the discussion. I think that this is important and that the Party should be sharply self-critical about its failure to act on this question after such a long period. Several of the Comrades have spoken about the formulations with regard to the principles for a youth organization as they were stated in the report.

JAC:rma
(3)

NY 100-80641

I think we shall understand that what we are attempting to do here is not to spell out the complete structure and character of an organization, but we are attempting to point a direction. Actually, a real honest to goodness youth organization will not come into existence by any cry or declaration from us. It will come into existence through a process of work and struggle.

In the course of setting up local organizations and in the course of participation in mass activity, we will be able to spell out much more clearly what the nature of such an organization should be. There has been some criticism, but no offer of a more precise approach to the formation of a youth organization. So I think that we should understand that we are projecting a direction. We should have some idea in which direction we want to go.

There has been some discussion of factionalism. In anything I said, I didn't mean to imply that what we are dealing with here is a group of highly organized labor factionalists. (That is not) true. I think that what we are dealing with here is not organized factionalism, but that on the whole, the youth are honest and sincere.

I do think it is very unfortunate that the Youth March did not get the attention that it deserves. Our original idea was that there were to be two separate discussions. Unfortunately, due to some unanticipated things, this fell through. There are not only many very valuable lessons to be learned from the experience of the March, but there are many important tasks to do. I think it is true that when we speak about the outlook for mass activities, this is where it is beginning to make its undeveloped approach. The statement on the Youth March will be issued as a statement for the guidance of the Party's membership. It will be published in the press after suitable revision, editing, etc., and will be presented as such for approval.

Other than this, I should like to present for action by the committee the proposals that were made in my report. I don't know how you want to act on them, but here they are.

JAC:rma
(4)

NY 100-80641

Vote on LUMER's Report

A motion was made to adopt the statement and report given by LUMER and a vote was taken. Although the vote was not announced, it appeared that the report was unanimously adopted with one abstention.

Remarks of GUS HALL

HALL announced that the next order of business was to be a short information report from the Trade Union Commission on "steel."

Remarks of IRVING POTASH

The Trade Union Commission spent an evening discussing the situation in steel. The entire Party leadership must place before the membership the task and responsibility to do everything in our power to help the steel workers emerge victorious from the present conflict with the steel corporations and their allies. The Commission recommends that for the coming months, our Party shall consider the full concept of the major concentration of our effort and will develop a number of measures for the productive fulfillment of our tasks and responsibilities. The Commission took note of the following fact of the situation. Recent developments have made us feel that while we predict a strike, the outcome may well set the economic pattern and political climate for the entire trade union movement.

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Remarks of IRVING POTASH (cont'd)

Whether or not the monopolists of reaction will be on the attack in the coming month may well be determined by whether or not the steel corporations have their way in this situation. The special and in many ways unprecedented mobilization by the steel corporations and the Government is being beamed directly against the steel workers at the present time. To begin with, last month there was a conference of President EISENHOWER in which he went out of his way to make a declaration which everybody interpreted as an attack on the steel workers. The "New York Times" characterized the President's declaration as one that came closest to being an order more than any declaration he has made in his 6½ years as Chief Executive. There followed a barrage of propaganda over every medium of communication, the theme of which was that wages are the cause of high prices of steel. As part of this propaganda the claim has been made that a steel strike would be a great hazard to a free society.

Columbia University opened its forums for free lectures by the Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation repeating the false and arrogant propaganda against steel workers. The Labor Department in its federal report falsified the facts about productivity in steel in general. (J. EDGAR) HOOVER of the FBI came forward with his declaration that Moscow gave orders to infiltrate steel. Senator (STYLES) BRIDGES took the floor in the Senate to make a special speech on steel in which he embodied an editorial which constituted a vicious attack on the steel workers. RAYMOND SONYAR (phonetic), Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in a special letter to the Senate placed the major blame for inflation on the excessive wage increases in the steel industry.

There is definitely open connivance between the steel corporations and the Government to defeat the steel workers with or without a strike. It should be noted that neither the

NY 100-80641

steel workers union nor the rest of the trade union movement have adopted adequate measures to meet this concerted attack against the steel workers. (DAVID) McDONALD has become a slave to the crudest sort of class collaboration in the labor movement and there is no doubt that the bulk of the steel workers have no confidence in their top leadership, which so far has kept the membership completely in the dark on many things. At the same time, however, the companies are feverishly rushing production and piling up a huge stockpile.

As against the negative factors enumerated above, one must also recognize that there can be no doubt about the deep and widespread "incontent" among the steel workers. Time and again the steel workers have demonstrated they must fight as they have done in five industry-wide strikes since 1936. There is a big reservoir of left and progressive workers in the steel industry. Coupled with this there is the fact that the steel industry is almost completely organized and the fact that today labor generally possesses the biggest trade union movement in American history.

The steel workers must be encouraged to participate and stress their wishes and needs with regard to demands and strive to bring about the maximum pressure for these demands. The steel workers must be alerted, united, and mobilized in the plants and local unions to reaffirm and emphasize support of these demands for shorter hours and other benefits. Every effort must be made to unite all groups and causes on a program of constructive action for the workers' demands. There should be the utmost cooperation with union officials on all levels, especially on local levels where they work for the interests of the worker and to advance constructive criticism where they do not do so. Immediate attention must be given to the problems of the Negro, the workers, the unemployed, and any other workers.

Local initiative for FEPC for a breakthrough should be encouraged, especially where progressives are reported to be

NY 100-80641

strong. Steps by local unions should be encouraged to bring pressure to bear upon federal, state, and municipal government officials in this regard. Old and young, left and progressive steel workers must be brought into play for the above-enumerated prerequisites for a steel workers victory.

What about the role of the Party? It is our opinion that the Party must strive to make a special contribution for the victory of the steel workers. In our course we must have a realistic chance to make up our forces in steel. We have very few forces in steel. However, in many ways this is a situation which could be enhanced even for those few forces that we have in steel. It can show our Party just how we work in the situations that confront the steel worker and the working class in general. We must strive to make every member and every sympathizer active in the plants and in the union. We should canvass the old timers--many old timers that used to be around in the Party or around the progressive movement--canvass them and bring them back to work for us. "The Worker" must carry more news and articles dealing with the steel situation. An intense effort must be made by Party organizations to furnish "The Worker" with this news. Consideration should be given to issuing another statement to the steel workers by the Party and also a pamphlet. This should be undertaken by the NEC. Our membership should strive to get expressions of solidarity by resolutions, pledges, messages to shops, unions, and other organizations where our members work. Such unions as the United Auto Workers, the Packing House Union, and others can help the issue of solidarity to move prior to the deadline. The Teamsters Union must not remain the only one getting forward with a solidarity pledge to the steel workers. The independent unions can also make an important contribution in this regard. It seems to me also that the Mine Engineer Workers Union must set aside the hostilities that exist and that have existed as a result of the raids. As a matter of fact, the best way to stop raiding in the future would be for the Mine Mill Union to come forward with a militant campaign of solidarity for the steel workers.

NY 100-80641

Solidarity is the militant fighting tradition of American labor. It now lies dormant and we must be the ones to reawaken and revive it. We must do it in the present steel fight and we must make up for our failure in this regard in the heroic struggle of the textile workers and the miners in Henderson, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Even there it isn't too late to carry on solidarity. In any case the steel workers must feel that our Party, its members and friends are back where we used to be in the thirties.

Remarks of GUS HALL

Following POTASH'S report HALL noted that there was a motion to accept the report.

Remarks of SI GERSON

Before a vote could be taken on the motion GERSON interrupted and said that he thought the Party had an additional responsibility to say something which had not been proposed by POTASH. GERSON said that he would go beyond the question of economic demands and would say something in line with the anti-monopoly condition of the country. He said that he would place the emphasis squarely on monopoly capital, indicating clearly that it is passing over the economic demands of the workers.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS took exception to what POTASH had said concerning DAVID McDONALD. With respect to McDONALD, MEYERS stated, "I just want to call attention to the fact that if there is any person in the United States in the labor movement who has done more personally in a practical way in exposing monopoly capital, I'd like to see how many there are outside of him (DAVID McDONALD)"

NY 100-80641

Vote on POTASH's Report

There was no further discussion on the steel report and a vote was taken with the report being unanimously adopted.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS spoke favorably of GUS HALL, describing his soundness and perception as one of the high points of the meeting. He continued that the views HALL expressed came as no surprise to the members of the NEC. He then observed that the NEC had hired GUS HALL for this session and was now unanimously recommending that he be elected as a member of the NEC. A vote was taken and HALL was elected to the NEC. DENNIS then continued that the NEC, anticipating the action taken by the NC in approving HALL, had unanimously decided that HALL should be elected as one of the secretaries of the NC. DENNIS said that coinciding with the urgent needs of the Party they proposed in the coming period that HALL shall be the secretary of the Midwest Regional Committee working together with the NEC and all the officers of the Party on all questions and problems.

Before the meeting concluded DENNIS said that he had one or two observations to make. He said that in leaving this meeting "we" are deeply cognizant of our responsibilities not only over a long period commencing from this day on, but of the reports and the decisions taken. He then spoke of the "democratic upsurge" among the youth and said that he thought there was a definite appreciation of the responsibilities of the Party as outlined in Comrade LUMER's report.

DENNIS then spoke of the "forced departure" of Comrade BOB (THOMPSON) and remarked that the things the Party was called upon to do now weigh heavily upon "us," DENNIS noted that the Berlin crisis, the Middle East and various other international problems had not been discussed at this meeting, although previously discussed. He said that the Party must be

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NY 100-80641

aware of its responsibility and of what it can do to spark and influence the movement for ending military occupation in Berlin and calling a halt to the atomic rearming of West Germany. He also felt that the Party should do what it could to help guarantee a conference at the summit.

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 6/1/59
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
C I N A L

CG 5824-S*, on 5/28/59, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, the following two items:

(1) A mimeographed letter dated 5/25/59, addressed "To All Districts", and signed "Phil Bart, Org. Secretary". This letter encloses a letter addressed to all Communist Party clubs.

(2) A two-page, mimeographed letter dated 5/25/59, with the caption, "A Letter To All Party Clubs", and signed "Phil Bart, National Organizational Secretary, Communist Party, USA". This letter presents five "key questions to which the present activities of your club should be related." The five

3 - Bureau (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED) (Encls. 2)
7 - New York (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED) (Encls. 2) *yes*
(1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
(1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)
(1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-80644) (CP-USA, Youth Matters)
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
3 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

Chief Clerk
Post

make action
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See all to
100-80638

100-80638-1692

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6/15/59
JUN 3 1959
FBI - NEW YORK

Shatley *HN 3 1959*
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CH/Atlas *PH*

issues are peace, defense of labor's rights, the Negro liberation movement, youth, strengthening Party clubs; building "The Worker".

Under the last issue, the following are among the statements which are made:

"The rebuilding of the Party means rebuilding clubs. Bringing back former members means bringing them back into functioning, active clubs. The entire Party, from the existing clubs up, should devote itself to strengthening the Party clubs and multiplying their number. Every club should examine and discuss its approach to former members with the object of bringing them into the Party and in many instances to join their support for the Fund Drive and in other activities."

One photostat copy of each of the above two items is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copies are located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (87).

AUERBACH

7/6/9
OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603) DATE: 6/2/59

FROM : SA [redacted]

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SUBJECT: CP - NY STATE
IS-C

On 5/9/59, NY 1637-S* furnished photographs
of information in the possession of PHILIP and [redacted]
at their residence 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, Apt. 4G.
The original negatives of these photographs have been made
an exhibit in PHILIP BART'S NY file.

1 - NY 100-26603-C43 (CP KINGS)(422)
1 - NY 100-80538 (CP - MEMBERSHIP)(415)
1 - NY 100-12959 [redacted] (415)
1 - NY 100-26603-C (CP KINGS - BORO PARK)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C265 (CP KINGS - BORO HALL)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C267 (CP KINGS - BRIGHTON)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C271 (CP KINGS - EAST NY)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C268 (CP KINGS - BROWNSVILLE)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C269 (CP KINGS - CONEY ISLAND)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C262 (CP KINGS - BATH BEACH)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C2006 (CP KINGS - YOUTH)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C 1997 (CP KINGS - LITHUANIAN (LANGUAGE))(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C273 (CP KINGS - FLATBUSH)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C609 (CP KINGS - MIDWOOD)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C1561 (CP KINGS - RUGBY)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C263 (CP KINGS - BEDFORD STUYVESANT)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C1957 (CP KINGS - CROWN HEIGHTS)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603-C276 (CP KINGS - KINGS HIGHWAY)(422)
1 - NY 100-26603 (CP - NY STATE)

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100-80638-1613

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JUN 2 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. T. Waters, Jr.

NY 100-26603

Among the information furnished by this source is a photograph of a sheet of paper containing handwritten notations in what is believed to be the handwriting of [redacted] of what appears to be the Kings County CP Membership figures for the current registration. The total of actual registrations listed is 243 and it would appear that the Brooklyn CP also expects to register a number of "possibles."

This record also contains a breakdown of the CP Membership as to sex, age, time in the Party, race and employment.

A Photostat of this photograph is being made an attachment for each copy of this memorandum.

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best available image

Area		Total	
ENY	12	50.00	1200.00
Boles	12	65.00	780.00
CM	34.152	65.00	2335.00
Reb	6	60.00	360.00
CM	39.102	50.00	1950.00
Reb	8+102	60.00	583.00
WCH	5	60	300.00
	26(312)		665.00
Bo Pk	12	50.00	90.00
Bo Re	4+42	60	52.00
Bo Nels	15+32	65.00	
Cut	18	60.00	
Y	9	30.00	270.00
Prt	6	100.00	600.00
	27+392		45515.00

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, Albany

FROM: Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

DATE: June 2, 1959

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Section 87 (C) 3 (2) (b) of the Manual of Instructions requires each office to include in the cover page (s) of quarterly reports on the Communist Party (CP) USA, the total number of individuals who can be positively identified as CP members as well as the total number of individuals who can be tentatively identified as such.

In the interest of uniformity and to insure that we are discharging our basic responsibility of identifying each and every CP member on a current basis, commencing

2 - Albuquerque	2 - Miami
2 - Anchorage	2 - Milwaukee
2 - Atlanta	2 - Minneapolis
2 - Baltimore	2 - Mobile
2 - Birmingham	2 - Newark
2 - Boston	2 - New Haven
2 - Buffalo	2 - New Orleans
2 - Butte	2 - New York City
2 - Charlotte	2 - Norfolk
2 - Chicago	2 - Oklahoma City
2 - Cincinnati	2 - Omaha
2 - Cleveland	2 - Philadelphia
2 - Dallas	2 - Phoenix
2 - Denver	2 - Pittsburgh
2 - Detroit	2 - Portland
2 - El Paso	2 - Richmond
2 - Honolulu	2 - St. Louis
2 - Houston	2 - Salt Lake City
2 - Indianapolis	2 - San Antonio
2 - Jacksonville	2 - San Diego
2 - Kansas City	2 - San Francisco
2 - Knoxville	2 - San Juan
2 - Little Rock	2 - Savannah
2 - Los Angeles	2 - Seattle
2 - Louisville	2 - Springfield 100-82638-1
2 - Memphis	2 - Washington

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100-128817

cc m 100-128817 JUN 4 1959

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

W. J. Watson JUN 4 1959
FBI - NEW YORK

615

File
Letter to Albany
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
100-3-68

with the quarterly report covering the second quarter of 1959, it is desired that the above figures be limited to those individuals who have been positively identified as CP members or tentatively identified as such within the 12-month period immediately preceding the submission of your report. This procedure will have no effect on the total estimated CP membership in your territory and you are reminded that any increase or decrease in estimated membership figures previously submitted must be explained in detail in the cover page (s) of your quarterly reports.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68) DATE: 6/9/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128817)

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
NY DISTRICT
IS - C

Re NY letter, 4/10/59.

ReBulet to Albany, 6/2/59, captioned "CP,
USA MEMBERSHIP; IS - C".

ReBulet directed that the CP members included in the cover pages of quarterly reports on the CP, USA, be limited to those individuals who have been positively identified as CP members, or tentatively identified as CP members, within a 12 month period. These CP members are also the basis for the bimonthly progress letters.

In view of the above, the progress letters reflecting over-all statistics relative to active CP members will conform to the above standard. This necessitates a resurvey which will delay submission of the current progress letter until 6/12/59.

2-Bureau (100-3-68)(RM)
1-New York (100-26603)(NY STATE CP)(416)
1-New York (100-26603-C40)(BRONX)(421)
1-New York (100-26603-C41)(QUEENS)(423)
1-New York (100-26603-C42)(NEW YORK)(424)
1-New York (100-26603-C42)(NEW YORK)(425)
1-New York (100-26603-C43)(KINGS)(422)
1-New York (100-26603-C44)(WESTCHESTER)(414)
1-New York (100-26603-C45)(NASSAU)(414)
1-New York (100-26603-C39)(RICHMOND)(414)
1-New York (100-132430)(INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)(42)
1-New York (100-80638)(CP, USA MEMBERSHIP)(415)
1-New York (100-128817)(416)

RCB:vmk
(14)

100-80638-1615

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JUN 9 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

4/16
W. Waters
4/16

6/30/59

AIRTEL

REGISTERED AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1)

RE: CP - USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On the best available information, there are an estimated six CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these six, three of them can be positively identified as CP members and one of them tentatively identified as a CP member, two are Security Informants. This figure of six represents a decrease of two since last quarterly report submitted by San Antonio, SA 540-S was discontinued as a Security Informant and, therefore, not included in this estimate. Information has been received reflecting that G. J. SUTTON is not a CP member; he was formerly carried as one tentatively identified as such.

The six individuals tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members, are set forth below:

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>
American..... 6	White..... 5	Male..... 6
	Negro..... 1	
	Total 6	

3-Bureau (AM, RM)
2-New York (100- (CP, Membership) AM, RM
2-SA
(100-242)

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AIR TEL

100-82638-1616
S. V. WATERS

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 2 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

W. Waters
R. Pitzer

SA 100-242-Sub 1

<u>Veterans</u>	<u>Union Members</u>	<u>Employment</u>
4	None known.	Attorney..... 1 Bakery worker... 1 Cookkeeper..... 1 Salesmen..... 2 Unemployed.... 1

SLAYLOCK

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

6/30/59

SAC, DALLAS (100-671-4)

CF, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

ReBulet to New York, 12/12/56, and SAC Letter No. 91, Series 1949, dated 9/28/49.

Set forth below are the latest figures regarding the Communist Party membership in the Dallas Division.

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>
United States	19	
	White 14	Male 12
	Negro 5	Female 7
TOTAL:	19	19
Known Veterans:	7	Known Union Members: UPWA 1

EMPLOYMENT

Attorney	1	Packinghouse Worker	1
Auto Mechanic	1	Printer	1
Farmer	1	Salesman	2
Housewife	5	TV Repairman	1
Laborer	1	Unemployed	1
Merchant	1	Welder	1
Office Worker	2		
TOTAL	19		

③ - Bureau (RM)
② - New York (RM)
1 - Dallas
WEB:hdc
(6)

100-80137-1617

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 19 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-80137-1617

DL 100-671-4

Listed below are the persons comprising the CP membership in the Dallas Division. Following each name are the designations "P" and "T". "P" denotes that the informant can positively identify the individual as a CP member, "T" meaning that the particular informant can tentatively identify the individual as a CP member. All informants have furnished reliable information in the past and have identified those listed within the 12 month period immediately preceding the submission of this report.

b7D

Name

DL-6-S

T	T	T	T				
T	T	T	T				
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
T	T	T	T	T	T		
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
T	P	P	P	P	P		
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P	T	T	T	T	T		
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P

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DL 100-671-4

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Name

DL-6-S

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The 19 CP members listed is one less than the compilation for the preceding quarter due to one having been deleted because she is not actively engaged in CP activities and has not been re-registered as a CP member.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7/1/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A
HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on June 29, 1959, orally furnished SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on June 30, 1959.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - 100-3-68 (CP, USA, Membership)
- 1 - Baltimore (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
- 1 - Boston (RM)
 - 1 - 100-20778 (CP, USA, Membership)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - 1 - 100-421 (GUS HALL)
 - 1 - 65-721 (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
- 1 - Detroit (RM)
 - 1 - 100-16906 (CP, USA, Membership)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
- 1 - Milwaukee (RM)
 - 1 - 100-421 (CP, USA, Organization)
- 1 - Newark (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
- ⑤ - New York (RM)
 - ① - 100-80638 (CP, USA, Membership)
 - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization)
 - 1 - 100-128817 (CP, USA, New York District, Membership)
 - 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
 - 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)
- 1 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - 1 - 100-32208 (CP, USA, Membership)

Copies Continued on Next Page

fw
JEK:jes
(25)

100-80638-1618
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

JUL 6 1959

FBI - CHICAGO

T.V. Metzger

CG 100-33741

1 - Pittsburgh (RM)
 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Organization)
1 - San Diego (RM)
 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
1 - San Francisco (RM)
 1 - 100-26239 (CP, USA, Membership)
1 - Washington Field Office (RM)
 1 - 100- (CP, USA, Membership)
4 - Chicago
 1 - A)134-46
 1 - 100-18952 (CP, Illinois District, Membership)
 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

June 29, 1959

On Thursday and Friday, June 25 and 26, 1959, PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was discussing the current strength of the CP, USA. BART stated that he had been to New England, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He said that he planned to drive from New York City to Chicago on or about July 4, 1959, would spend some time in Illinois, and would also visit the Wisconsin District. BART stated that he had planned to go to Pittsburgh but for one reason or another GUS HALL said that he wanted to go to Pittsburgh after he completes his vacation, or if he could not make the trip he would send ANTHONY KRCHMAREK.

BART stated that it is his opinion that at the present time the total registered members of the CP, USA, is no more than 4,300 members. He stated that he has not verified the figures for all Districts as yet, but will have the complete picture prior to the 17th National Convention. BART stated that it might be possible to reach a total registered membership of 5,000 by the time of the National Convention if some members pay back dues, if there is some recruiting, etc.

BART said that the registered membership in the New York District is 1,800, even though the New York District has been using 2,000 as the membership figure. BART said that there are only 45 Negroes in the CP in the New York District. This figure of 45 includes the Negro membership in both Brooklyn and Harlem.

It should be noted that subsequently EUGENE DENNIS confirmed this figure of 45 Negroes in the New York District. DENNIS commented that this contrasts with a figure of 85 to 100 Negroes in the CP of Illinois, according to a statement made by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

In regard to California, BART stated that the registered membership of both California Districts is about 1,200. Of this sum, approximately 800 are in the Southern California District, and 400 are in the Northern California District. BART stated that the leadership of the two California Districts had agreed with him that these figures are pretty close to the actual count.

Continuing, BART stated that there are 25 CP members in the Maryland District and about 50 members in the New England District. He stated that the Eastern Pennsylvania District has about 125 members. In regard to the New Jersey District, BART said that he did not have an exact figure but felt that the membership in New Jersey would be, at most, somewhere between 150 and 200.

BART said that he had not checked the membership of the Illinois District as yet. He said that as a guess he would place the Illinois membership at 350 to 400. BART also stated that he had no figures as yet for the Ohio and Michigan Districts. In regard to Michigan, BART stated that he would guess that there are no more than 150 members, if there are that many.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 7/8/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-116897)

SUBJECT: MANHATTAN YOUTH CLUB
IS - C

1 - Chicago (100- [REDACTED] (RM)

1 - NY 100-51259 {American Youth Festival Committee) (41)

1 - NY 100-80638 {CP, USA-Membership) (415)

1 - NY 100- {FAYE LNU, W-F-16-5-3-105, at 6/3/59
Manhattan Youth Club CP class, per

[REDACTED] (412)

1 - NY 100-133457 [REDACTED] (424)

1 - NY 100-80644 {CP, USA-Youth Matters) (415)

1 - NY 100-128804 {CP, NYD-Youth Matters) (416)

1 - NY 100-125874 [REDACTED] (424)

1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)

1 - NY 100-136394 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-136940 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-110150 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-134884 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-114066 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-137717 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-133542 [REDACTED] (416)

1 - NY 100-116897 [REDACTED] (416)

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4
EMA:jn
(18)

100-80638-1619
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FBI - NEW YORK
J.W. [Signature] 13 1959

NY 100-116897

Identity of Source [redacted] who has furnished
reliable information in the
past (conceal)

Description of info 6/3/59 Manhattan Youth Club
CP class

b6
b7C
b7D

Date received 6/9/59

Received by SA [redacted] (written)

Original location [redacted]

A copy of informant's written report follows:

NY 100-116897

June 5, 1959

Time: 7:30 P.M. June 3, 1959
Place: 86 Stanton Street, New York City N.Y.
Event: Manhattan Youth Club C.P. Class
Attendance: 8
Speaker: HY LUMER

Identified

[REDACTED]
MIKE LUMER
EDDIE LNU (oriental-M-28)
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
ADA LNU (W-F-22)
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Because Mr. HY LUMER was delayed, it was decided by the club to hold a short business meeting on the club project, the compilation of facts and figures of left wing youth groups into a volume. [REDACTED] was elected temporary chairman after some discussion it was decided by the club to parcel out the research by periodicals rather than by specified time periods. In such a case a comrade would be assigned all issues of the "Daily Worker" rather than read everything in the period of 1920 to 1930. Research numbers were assigned to each member by which he could label his index cards (1-999, 1000-1999, etc;)

HY LUMER then arrived and the class got under way. Mr. LUMER spoke of the C.P.U.S.A. in the 1930's. One interesting point brought out by Mr. LUMER was that the lowest ebb the C.P. ever reached was about 8000 to 9000 members "about what it is now" concluded Mr. LUMER. All material was taken from FOSTER's book "History of the Communist Party U.S.A."

A check to the American Youth Festival Committee signed by [REDACTED] of Chicago Ill. was seen at Youth Festival office this day. At the office was FAYE LNU (W-F-16-5'3-105), [REDACTED]

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b7C

OFFICE OF MIGRATION BUREAU * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 7/17/59

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on July 9, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This oral information was reduced to writing on July 16, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Indianapolis (100-3474) (CP-USA, Indiana District, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-42-) (CP-USA, Wisconsin District, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (100-) (CP-USA, State of Oklahoma, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Omaha (100-4130) (CP-USA, State of Nebraska, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - St. Louis (100-7448) (CP-USA, Missouri District, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 100-18952) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Membership)

JEK/kws
(12)

100-80638-1620
J.V. ~~WATER~~ ~~J.V.~~ ~~J.V.~~
J.V. ~~WATER~~ ~~J.V.~~ ~~J.V.~~

July 9, 1959

During the week of July 5, 1959, PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, had in his possession figures pertaining to dues payments by several Mid-western Districts. The following is a list of these figures:

Illinois

1958:	841
1959:	1,973

It is not known how many months are involved in the figure for 1958. However, this figure will be included in the computation of dues payments for the year 1959. The figure of 1,973 represents dues payments in the first six months of 1959.

Indiana

1958:	228
1959:	0

It is not known whether or not the figure for 1958 includes the entire year or only what will be credited to 1959.

Wisconsin

1958:	156
1959:	49

It is not known whether or not the figure for 1958 includes the entire year or only what will be credited to 1959.

Nebraska

1958:	206
1959:	48

Missouri (102)

1958:	--
1959:	--

No dues payments were indicated for either 1958 or 1959. The significance of the figure of 102 in parenthesis is not known.

Oklahoma

1958: 36
1959: 36

All will be counted as 1959 dues.

It appears that the National Office of the Communist Party - USA will be lenient in attributing dues collected in the latter part of 1958, or 1958 dues collected in the early part of 1959 to 1959, for the purpose of determining the number of delegates a District is entitled to for the National Convention.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

DATE: 7/31/59

FROM: SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
IS-C

1-New York (100-80641) (CP, USA-Organization)(415)
1-New York (100-80638) (CP, USA- Membership)(415)
1-New York (100-74560) (CP, USA- Funds) (415)
1-New York (100-81338) (CP, USA- Security Measures)(415)
1-New York (100-96985) (CP, USA-Underground Operations)(415)
1-New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-Factionalism)(415)
1-New York (100-86624) (CP, USA-International Relations)(415)
1-New York (100-88123) (CP, USA-United Nations)(415)
1-New York (100-87212) (CP, USA-Colonial Matters)(415)
1-New York (100-79717) (CP, USA-Political Activities)(415)
1-New York (100-80636) (CP, USA-Legislative Activities)(415)
1-New York (100-89691) (CP, USA-Domestic Administration Issues)(415)
1-New York (100-89590) (CP, USA-Strategy in Industry)(415)
1-New York (100-80640) (CP, USA-Negro Question)(415)
1-New York (100-80644) (CP, USA-Youth Matters)(415)
1-New York (100-80643) (CP, USA-Women Matters)(415)
1-New York (100-80634) (CP, USA-Farmers Matters)(415)
1-New York (100-88297) (CP, USA-Cultural Activities)(415)
1-New York (100-79498) (CP, USA-Veterans Matters)(415)
1-New York (100-54651) (CP, USA-National Groups)(415)
1-New York (100-80864) (CP, USA-Religion)(415)
1-New York (100-81675) (CP, USA-Pamphlets and Publications)(415)
1-New York (100-80633) (CP, USA-Education)(415)
1-New York (100-133902) (CP, USA-Attempts of CP to Infiltrate
Mass Organizations)(415)
1-New York (100-4931)

JVW:vka
(25)

Chief Clerk
Post *JK*

100-80638-1621

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 31 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waterson

NY 100-4931

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, NY, 7/20/59, reflects activity of CP, USA, for the quarterly period, 4/1/59, to 6/30/59. Details of such activity may be found in above report under the following:

- Organization
- Membership
- Funds
- Underground Operations
- Factionalism
- International Relations
- United Nations
- Political Activities
- Legislative Activities
- Domestic Administration Issues
- Strategy in Industry
- Negro Question
- Youth Matters
- National Groups
- Pamphlets and Publications
- Education
- Attempts of CP to Infiltrate
- Mass Organizations

No pertinent information concerning the following was developed for inclusion in above report:

- Security Measures
- Colonial Matters
- Women Matters
- Farmers Matters
- Cultural Activities
- Veterans Matters
- Religion

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80538)

DATE: 28 JUL 1959

FROM : SA [redacted] (#415) 7/31

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP
IS- Cb6
b7C

On 6/23/59, NY 1637-S* furnished photographs of information in the possession of PHILIP and CONNIE BART at their residence. The original negatives of these photographs are being made an exhibit in PHILIP BART's subject file.

Among the information furnished by the source were photographs of five sheets of paper containing various hand written figures which are apparently membership figures and percentages for the NY State CP. Following below is a digest of these photographs, one copy of the original of which is being made an attachment to the subject file and another copy to the copy of the memorandum designated for the CP Membership NY State file.

Negro - 95 - 6.1%

Puerto Rican - 9 - .5%

Italian-41-2.6%

Jew -64/7/10

Westchester 50 - 100%

Bronx - 233 of 270 (863 %)

Manhattan 447 of 555 (799)

Brooklyn 285 of 282 (101)

Queen 88 of 150 (58.6)

Nassau 61 of 100

Suffolk

Upstate 85 of 100

Indust. 460 of 860 (53½)

b6
b7C

1-NY (100-12959) [redacted] (#415)

1-NY (100-56579) (PHILIP BART) (#415)

1-NY (100- [redacted]) (CP-MEMBERSHIP NEW YORK CITY) (#416)

1-NY (100- [redacted]) (CP- ORGANIZATION NEW YORK CITY) (#416)

1-NY (100-26603 043) (CP-KINGS COUNTY) (#422)

1-NY (100-26603 042) (CP-MANHATTAN) (#416)

1-NY (100-26603 040) (CP-BRONX) (#421)

1-NY (100-26603 041) (CP-QUEENS) (#423)

1-NY (100-26603 046) (CP-NASSAU) (#414)

1-New York (100-80538) #1

100-80538-1

100-80538-1

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 28 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

APR 1959

HPQ:rpf
(10)

NY 100-80538

On another sheet of paper appears figures indicating that the registration at the time the notes were written related that 1,578 members of a previous years total of 2,371 had been registered for a percentage of 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ %. There were also figures for the number of negro members (total 95) in the various sections of the New York Organization according to borough. There is also the figures for the industrial registration including a break down according to production service, white collar and unemployed. There is also a note that the garment section will register a 150 out of 205 members and that they had lost all of the maritime section, a number between 20 and 25. The notes also contained figures of the number of Puerto Ricans (9) in the CP along with Italians, which is 41, and Jewish which is 67 7/10% of the New York State Membership.

best available image

10
17
10
1
17

Industrial
763 - Production
5 - Service
43 - White coll
7 - unemp -

F.H.U.
(will lose 160
1860)

Employer
Retired 31
T 415 576
of 817 others
-0-0-
Garment

will reg 1500 205
no contact to T.P.B.
also - Maintenance -
all to left (20-25)

Bruit 14 + last of
time (see w) prob over
over

10-95- 6.1%
P.R. - 9 - 5%
Italian 4.1 7.6%
Jew - 67 1/2
West Berlin 50 - 100%
By 133 of 170 (68)
Non 44 of 535 (99)
Plym 185 - 8782 (101)
Green 89 of 110 (81)
Grossau 61 of 100
Surf 85 - 100
Upstate 85 - 100
Gard 460 of 860 (53%)

average - 42 -
Cannabis 20 +
Refugee - Green
P.H. - 45 - 25 -
15% + 20 20 -
Austria 35 - 230 -

close Reg 11/4

School 4 - 416 - 14
Adult - 322 -
State Expenses
responsible City
Ticket to Stand
One 10 25%
10 10 25%

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 8/13/59

FROM: CYRIL J. RYAN, SUPERVISOR, #42

SUBJECT: CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
NEW YORK DISTRICT
IS - C

In preparation of the Membership Identification Program statistical data, due at the Bureau 10/10/59, there is to be a review of all files of CP members on the Security Index, except for those whose CP record in possession of the coordinators shows them to be active well within the previous twelve-month period (10/1/58 - 10/1/59).

Coordinators should so organize this file review that it will be completed without fail by 10/1/59. The work sheet data recorded should reflect the date of the last Communist activity as a CP member. For example, registration, payment of dues, circularization of CP petitions, attendance at CP schools or meetings. In those instances where the date of the last Communist activity is not within the last six months, the Agent making the file review should record in a separate column the date of the last activity in a CP front if that front is listed on the Attorney General's list. The initials of the front should be recorded opposite the date. Do not list front activity prior to 10/1/58.

In the early stages of the review "borderline cases" should be brought to the attention of C. J. RYAN. An example of a borderline case would be a subject who was last active as a CP member four years ago but six months ago attended a dinner sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship.

1 - ASAC N. H. MC CABE
#414
#42
#421
#422
#423
#424
#425

1 - SA
SA
SA
SA
SA
SA
SA
SA

21
4
#425

b6
b7C

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100 - 80638-1623

CJR:EMD
(17)

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-121012)

DATE: AUG 5 1959

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-42663)

SUBJ:

SM - C

Date received 7/29/59	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in past	Received by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]
--------------------------	---	--

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

7/29/59

b6

b7C

b7D

Date(s) of activity

7/28/59

Brief description of activity or material

Information regarding [redacted]

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

Remarks:

4 - New York (RM)

(1 - 100-) (NEW SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE)

(1 - 100-80638) (MEMBERSHIP - CP)

(1 - 100-84935) (COMINFIL INTO RR INDUSTRY)

b6

b7C

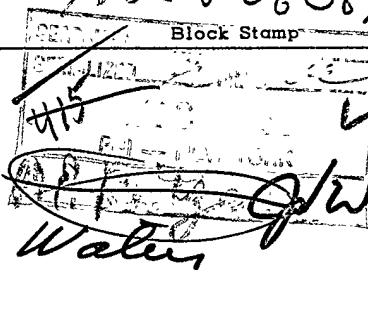
3 - Newark

(1 - 100-)

(1 - 100-31822) (COMINFIL INTO RR INDUSTRY)

RHM:nam

(7)



NK 100-42663

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE USED IN THE EVENT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED TO PRECLUDE DISCLOSING THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT. IT SHOULD BE NOTED TOO THAT MENTION OF THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THE INFORMANT IS OF A HEARSAY NATURE AND SHOULD BE TREATED FOR INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES ONLY.

On 7/28/59, [redacted] met [redacted] at 54th St. and Park Ave., New York City. [redacted] works at a publishing house at 54th St. and Madison Ave., NYC, as a secretary. She is attending the NEW SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE in NYC.

b6
b7C

[redacted] spoke of some COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) clubs re-registering 100%. Ex-Party people were coming back into the Party. She also spoke of living and working in Jersey City, New Jersey, and admitted being in a top security railroad CP club.

She is residing on [redacted], NYC, with her parents (exact address unknown).

b6
b7C

S-6
10
OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

8-10

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)

DATE: 7/27/59

FROM: SA [redacted] (#415)

SUBJECT: CP-NY STATE
IS - Cb6
b7C

On 6/23/59, NY 1637-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished photographs of information in the possession of PHILIP and [redacted] BART in their residence at 2415 Newkirk Ave., Bklyn., NY.

Among the information furnished by this source was a notebook page containing handwritten figures in the writing of [redacted] which appear to be the registration figures by section of the Kings County CP.

b6
b7C

These figures are as follows:

1 - New York (100-56579) (PHILIP BART) (415)
1 - New York (100-12959) [redacted] (415)
1 - New York (100-26603-C43) (CP KINGS) (422)
1 - New York (100-80538) (CP - MEMBERSHIP) (415) *N.Y. Cen*
1 - New York (100-26603-C) (CP KINGS - BORO PARK) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C265) (CP KINGS - BORO HALL) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C267) (CP KINGS - BRIGHTON) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C271) (CP KINGS - EAST NY) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C268) (CP KINGS - BROWNSVILLE) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C269) (CP KINGS - CONEY ISLAND) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C262) (CP KINGS - BATH BEACH) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C2006) (CP KINGS - YOUTH) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C1997) (CP KINGS - LITHUANIAN) (LANGUAGE)
422
1 - New York (100-26603-C273) (CP KINGS - FLATBUSH) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C609) (CP KINGS - MIDWOOD) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C1561) (CP KINGS - BEDFORD
STUYVESANT) (422) *44*
1 - New York (100-26603-C1957) (CP KINGS - CROWN HEIGHTS) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603-C276) (CP KINGS - KINGSL HIGHWAY) (422)
1 - New York (100-26603) (CP - NY STATE)

b6
b7CHPQ:paw
(19)

11K

100-80638-1625

FBI - NEW YORK

NY 100-26603

Boro Park	28
Boro Hall	15
Brighton	35
East NY	22
Brownsville	12
Coney Island	18
Bath Beach	15
Youth	9
Lithuanian	18
Flatbush	11
Midwood	16
Rugby	6
Crown Heights	34
Kings Highway	6
West Beverly	1
Bedord	
Stuyvesant	39
	<hr/> 285

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 8/12/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, on August 7, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, a one-page, mimeographed document dated August 4, 1959. It is a memorandum from the National Education and Organization Departments, and is addressed "To: All Districts". This document states in part:

"The 17th National Convention is scheduled to take place in New York on December 10-13, 1959.... the preconvention discussion period will open on September 10, 1959 and continue to December 10.

"The initial discussion materials consist of a draft political resolution and a draft resolution on the Negro question. These will be available shortly in mimeographed form at cost, and will be printed in the September issue of Political Affairs. A draft resolution on Party organization will be ready at a later date. Other resolutions--on trade union policy, youth work, etc.,--will be prepared later for submission to the Convention. In addition, the present Constitution is open for amendment....

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
4 - New York (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
 (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)
 (1 - 100-80633) (CP-USA, Education)
 (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)
 (1 - 100-81675) (CP-USA, Pamphlets and Publications)

3 - Chicago
 (1 - A/134-46)
 (1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)

JEK/kws
(9)

100-80641-7914
(See 121)

100-80638-626

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
AUG 14 1959
FBI - CHICAGO
RJ

CG 100-33741

".....all Party members may submit written discussion articles for publication. These will be printed in Party Affairs, of which it is planned to issue three numbers at approximately monthly intervals during the discussion period....

"Several districts have already made plans for mass meetings in connection with the Party's 40th anniversary. A number of others have either not yet done so, or have failed to notify us of their plans....Meetings may be planned for any dates during September or October, except for the weekend of September 25-27, when regional Party conferences and mass meetings are scheduled to take place in New York and Chicago....

"Some districts have undertaken special recruiting efforts during the period of observation of the 40th anniversary. The national organization recommends that all districts undertake such activities in the period from September 1 to the opening of the 17th Convention. Recent activities in many areas and relationships established as a result have opened the doors to recruiting new members and bringing back others who have left the Party...."

One photostat copy of this document is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (99).

**ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP
AS OF JUNE 30, 1959**

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts.

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

Alabama	5	Mass.	4	Pennsylvania	219
Alaska	0	Maryland	45	Rhode Island	10
Arizona	31	Massachusetts	107	S. Carolina	0
Arkansas	0	Michigan	225	S. Dakota	23
California	1,237	Minnesota	175	Tennessee	0
Colorado	1	Mississippi	0	Texas	32
Connecticut	27	Missouri	53	Utah	10
Delaware	3	Montana	67	Vermont	9
District of Columbia	28	Nebraska	23	Virginia	22
Florida	30	Nevada	0	Washington	205
Georgia	6	New Hampshire	6	W. Virginia	9
Idaho	15	New Jersey	250	Wisconsin	125
Illinois	940	New Mexico	7	Wyoming	0
Indiana	67	New York	2,025	Territories	
Iowa	9	N. Carolina	2	Hawaii	0
Kansas	4	N. Dakota	22	Puerto Rico	15
Kentucky	9	Ohio	225	Total	2,226
Louisiana	22	Oklahoma	12		
		Oregon	51		

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	25	Houston	4	Oklahoma City	12
Albuquerque	7	Indianapolis	23	Omaha	20
Anchorage	0	Jacksonville	6	Philadelphia	172
Atlanta	57	Kansas City	7	Phoenix	34
Baltimore	43	Knoxville	0	Pittsburgh	50
Birmingham	2	Little Rock	2	Portland	51
Boston	123	Los Angeles	705	Richmond	6
Buffalo	84	Louisville	0	St. Louis	80
Des Moines	49	Memphis	0	Salt Lake City	19
Charlottesville	8	Miami	60	San Antonio	6
Chicago	514	Milwaukee	125	San Diego	26
Cincinnati	61	Minneapolis	224	San Francisco	415
Cleveland	135	Mobile	3	San Juan	15
Dallas	28	Newark	220	Savannah	1
Denver	1	New Haven	36	Seattle	209
Detroit	524	New Orleans	22	Springfield	5
El Paso	5	New York	2,140	Washington Field	23
Honolulu	5	St. Paul	5		

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....	28
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....	
JUL 21 1959		
FBI - NEW YORK		

Walter G.

100-80638-1427

<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>EXPLANATION</u>	<u>STATEMENT</u>	<u>EXPLANATION</u>
Connecticut District	13	Connecticut	20
Eastern Pennsylvania & Delaware District	177	Pennsylvania (except) 177	
Illinois District	410	Illinois (excluding Peoria & Louis. area)	317
Indiana District	60	Iowa (excluding a portion of Des Moines only)	0
Maryland-D.C. District	66	Indiana	0
Michigan District	205	Maryland	0
Minneapolis-St. Paul District	264	District of Columbia	0
Missouri District	107	Michigan	205
Montana District	0	Minnesota	175
New England District	125	North Dakota	23
New Jersey District	250	South Dakota	23
New York District	2,250	Missouri	0
Northern California District	651	Kansas (Kansas City only)	2
Surplus District	204	Illinois (part of St. Louis only)	0
Ohio District	347	Concord	27
		Vermont	2
		Long	0
		Hot Springs	0
		Massachusetts	103
		Rhode Island	10
		New Jersey	260
		New York	2,250
		Calif. (north of San Fran. & Santa Barbara (omitted))	461
		Washington	210
		Tacoma	75
		Alaska	0
		Alta.	0
		West Virginia (Foothills Section)	0

DISTRICTS (Continued)

Oklahoma-Arkansas District	22	Oklahoma	22
Oregon District	51	Oregon	51
Rocky Mountain District	28	Colorado	1
		Utah	10
		New Mexico	7
		Wyoming	0
		Texas (17 western counties)	5
Southern California District	806	California (exclusive of counties north of Santa Barbara & Kern Counties)	806
Southern Region	217	Alabama	5
		Florida	86
		Georgia	5
		Louisiana	22
		Mississippi	0
		North Carolina	8
		South Carolina	0
		Tennessee	0
		Texas (excluding 17 western counties)	29
		Virginia	11
Western Pennsylvania District	47	Pennsylvania (western)	47
Wisconsin District	125	Wisconsin	125
<u>STATES WITHOUT FORMAL ORGANIZATION</u>	54	Arizona	24
		Iowa	0
		Kansas	8
		Kentucky	0
		Nebraska	21
		Nevada	0
		West Virginia (exclusive of the four Panhandle counties)	0
<u>DEPARTMENTAL POSSESSIONS 15</u>		Hawaii	0
		Puerto Rico	15
Total	6,286	Total	6,286

COMPARATIVE POSITION AND PROPERTY TAXES BY STATE DIVISION

	<u>9-30-58</u>	<u>12-31-58</u>	<u>3-31-59</u>	<u>6-30-59</u>
Albany	87	82	86	88
Albuquerque	0	0	0	7
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Astoria	3	5	3	5
Baltimore	60	68	51	48
Birmingham	6	6	3	3
Boston	167	148	183	183
Buffalo	99	90	92	84
Butte	59	53	35	43
Charlotte	20	21	18	0
Chicago	307	308	377	366 ^a
Cincinnati	66	66	66	61
Cleveland	863	109	109	105
Dallas	52	52	20	10
Danvers	7	7	1	1
Detroit	250	250	222	225
El Paso	5	5	5	5
Honolulu	0	0	0	0
Houston	10	7	6	4
Indianapolis	100	00	00	60
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0
Kansas City	7	8	5	7
Knoxville	0	0	0	0
Little Rock	0	0	0	0
Los Angeles	2,000	2,000	793	793
Louisville	0	0	0	0
Memphis	0	0	0	0
Miami	32	31	31	30
Milwaukee	102	102	105	105
Minneapolis	280	286	212	226
Mobile	0	0	0	0
Newark	360	325	304	250 ^a
New Haven	25	25	28	33
New Orleans	26	28	28	22
New York	3,017	2,250	3,202	3,100 ^a
Norfolk	6	6	7	5
Oklahoma City	12	12	12	12
Omaha	20	20	20	20
Philadelphia	214	104	142	172 ^a
Phoenix	20	22	22	24
Pittsburgh	38	39	62	52
Portland	50	45	51	51
Richmond	7	6	6	6
St. Louis	61	70	73	50
Salt Lake City	10	10	10	10
San Antonio	5	8	8	6

^aThis indicates significant fluctuation in membership.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (continued)

	<u>9-30-58</u>	<u>12-31-58</u>	<u>3-31-59</u>	<u>6-30-59</u>
San Diego	27	20	27	26
San Francisco	487	450	404	445
San Juan	15	14	15	15
Savannah	0	0	0	1
Seattle	240	220	206	209
Springfield	10	9	10	5
Washington Field	25	25	25	25
TOTALS	7,810	6,630	6,286	6,286

Date

7-29-59

SAC: New York Field Office

Re: **COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of
SA _____ dated _____

For information.

For appropriate action.

Remarks:

100-80638-1628

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 31 1959	
FBI — NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Enclosure(s)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 8/10/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)

SUBJECT: CP,USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

On 7/29/59, [REDACTED], in the presence of SAS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] of Newark and JOHN A. HAAG of New York, dictated eight
Dictabelts concerning the proceedings of the July 25-26, 1959,
meeting of the National Committee of the CP,USA.

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5 - Bureau	(100-3-69) (Encl. 2) (RM) {1-100-3-89} (CP,USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) {1-100-3-68} (CP,USA - MEMBERSHIP) {1-100-3-75} (CP,USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (Encl. 1)
4 - Chicago	(100-24729) (EMMANUEL BLUM) (RM) {1-100-2748} (SAM KUSHNER) 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE {1-100-18457} (RALPH TURNER) LIGHTFOOT)
2 - Cleveland	(65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK) (RM)
3 - Detroit	{1-100- } (GUS HALL) (100-8482) [REDACTED] (RM) {1-100-13420} (CARL WINTER) {1-100-945} (NAT GANLEY)
2 - Los Angeles	(100-52571) [REDACTED] (RM) {1-100-4486} (DOROTHY HEALEY)
2 - Newark	[REDACTED] (1-100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)
1 - Pittsburgh	(100-1763) (STEVE NELSON) (RM)
1 - San Francisco	(65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA) (RM)

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1 - NY 100-8057	(EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-48033	{IRVING POTASH} (415)
1 - NY 100-89590	(CP,USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (415)
1 - NY 100-80638	(CP,USA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1 - NY 100-80640	(CP,USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
1 - NY 100-105078	(HY LUMER) (415)
1 - NY 100-9365	(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
1 - NY 100-18065	(JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY 100-79025	[REDACTED] (415)
1 - NY 100-84275	(WILLIAM PATTERSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-23825	(BENJAMIN DAVIS) (416)
1 - NY 100-13473	(SI GERSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-129629	(WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY 100-80641	(415)

JAH:msb/mfd

(36)

W.M.W.

100-80638-1629

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

Wales *John*

NY 100-80641

[redacted] These Dictabelts were transcribed by Typist [redacted] of the NYO on 8/3 and 4/59, and the resultant report was authenticated by the informant on 8/5/59. The location of this report is [redacted].

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The informant referred in his report/the proceedings of a meeting held at Party Headquarters on 7/24/59 which dealt with the current steel strike. He stated that the meeting on the steel strike merely prepared the report given by IRVING POTASH at the National Committee meeting of 7/25,26/59.

The informant's report follows:

On July 25 and 26, 1959, a meeting of the CP, USA, National Committee was held at Adelphi Hall, 5th Avenue, N.Y.C.

Those present were:

William Albertson	Anton Krchmarek
Emanuel Blum	Sam Kushner
Eric Bert	Si Gerson
Phil Bart	Claude Lightfoot
Jesus Colon	Mickey Lima
Ben Davis	Hy Lumer
Eugene Dennis	
	George Meyers
Ben Dobbs	
Charles Dirba	Tom Nabried
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	Burt Nelson
Betty Gannett	Steve Nelson (1st day only)
Flo Hall	William Patterson
Gus Hall	Pettis Perry
Dorothy Healey	Irving Potash
	Al Richmond
Arnold Johnson	
Clarence Sharp	(1st day only)
Alan Shaw	Homer Chase
Jack Stachel	Nat Ganley
Pat Toohey 21	Hosea Hudson (called Bill)
	(present 1st day only) 21

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Ralph Turner

[redacted]

Louis Weinstock

George Morris

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Carl Winter

Constantine Radze

Isador Wofsey

[redacted]

Paul Novick

[redacted]

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The meeting was opened by EUGENE DENNIS, who recommended on behalf of the NEC that [redacted] of Michigan chair the first day's session of the meeting. No objection was expressed to this procedure at the time, but afterwards several members of the National Committee objected vehemently to Eugene Dennis on the grounds that they thought the NEC had more important things to do than to define and recommend the very smallest subject for consideration by the full National Committee, implying that they thought the National Committee itself had sufficient wisdom to be able to elect a Chairman to conduct their sessions. [redacted]

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[redacted] introduced BART to present the suggested agenda for the two-day meeting.

The suggested agenda represented also the detailed recommendations of the NEC. First, that the major part of the first day be given to a report by IRVING POTASH and supplementary reports by KRCHMAREK of Ohio, KUSHNER of Illinois, and BLUM of Indiana, on the present steel strike. Second, a consid-

eration of the draft political resolution prepared for the Seventeenth National Convention of the Party. Third, discussion and adoption of the final draft of the resolution on Negro policy. Four, consideration of the draft of a new constitution for the Party to be presented in the current discussion and for the Seventeenth Convention. Fifth, setting the date of the National Convention and determining the basis of representation and other organizational details. On Friday, July 24, from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m. at the National Office, there had taken place a conference and discussion on the steel situation. Those attending are listed separately and embraced almost half of the National Committee attending the full session. In many ways, the ensuing discussion on steel was therefore a dry repetition of what had occurred the day before. At the steel conference a roundelay of speeches took place on what was presumed to be the situation existing in the steel industry and how long would the current steel strike last. Also, what was the policy being pursued by the steel corporations with reference to the trade unions? What the role and the intent of the Eisenhower Administration? What was the influence and

relationship of the steel strike to the remainder of the labor movement and so forth? The remarks of those who spoke may be characterized as extremely general and without relation to much specifics. The conclusion of all seemed to be that the strike would be a long one and that there was every likelihood of the steel union losing its main demands. That in the event such a loss occurred by the steel union, it would have a disadvantageous effect upon a large number of other unions whose economic demands are now commencing to arise, such as in aluminum, mine mill and smelter, electrical and various other industries. The conclusion of this so-called analysis, was for the purpose of establishing that the steel strike is a strike of all labor and that it is the responsibility of the Party, among others, to mobilize and arouse the greatest degree of support for the winning of the steel strike from other sections of the labor movement and from the community as a whole. It was analyzed that the Eisenhower Administration is acting deliberately in support of the steel corporations by refusing to intervene by refusing to invoke the Taft-Hartley Law, for the reason that the steel corporations desire a long strike for the purpose of bleeding the union and at the same time disposing of a very heavy inventory of

stocks. The reports by KRCHMAREK, BLUM, POTASH and others, were concentrated around these two points generally. The discussions were in no ways different and the proposals which they made were practically the same as previous discussions on the steel strike held some time ago and upon which reports have been made. As a result of this so-called steel conference on Friday, July 24, POTASH was charged to present to the full National Committee, the substance of the thinking and the general proposals of the meeting. The general proposals were that the Party would strive to mobilize its own ranks for the purpose of arousing larger sections of the labor and progressive movement to directly intervene in the struggle of the steel union through the form of resolutions, statements, declarations, financial support, and similiar measures. The Party itself will strive to influence the course of developments in steel situations by a widespread utilization of "The Worker", and also by the use of a four-page flyer addressed to the entire labor movement. They will also issue a leaflet for national distribution on the subject of the shorter work day, automation, and similiar issues which they believe to be associated with the steel strike and steel situation. This

was the general subject presented to the full National Committee on the morning of the first day. In view of the fact that more than half of the people present had already sat through long meetings discussing this subject, and because the subject itself was rather dry, and general and nothing much new to say upon it, the first half of the National Committee session was extremely dry and most of the people present exhibited a great restlessness. KRCHMAREK, : BLUM and KUSHNER made their reports as to what is the situation in their respective areas as to how the strike stands, as to the morale of the people, as to the weaknesses in the situation, etc., and POTASH, in a long speech, "summarized" the previous discussion and presented a series of very general recommendations along the line early referred to. After these four speakers had presented the so-called steel situation to the meeting, no one present was inclined to ask for the floor to make any further comment. The members of the Committee did not want to drag this listless subject further. Despite the efforts of the Chairman to induce the so-called concrete discussion upon the subject, no one was inclined to say anything. Most of the day had already been

wasted and there seemed to be a feeling among many people present that they did not come to New York for the subject which had already obviously wasted so much time. They indicated they wanted to get to the main subject for which the meeting had been convened. These were consideration of the proposed documents and resolutions for the National Convention. However, there was some evidence that the small ruling circle of the National leadership had decided to pursue a course which would make impossible the full consideration of these documents. The actual wasting of most of the first day's session on such a trite subject as the steel strike and what came later in deflecting the consideration of the constitution as well as the controversial aspects of the main political resolution would tend to confirm this assumption. About 2:00 p.m. of the first day, the general proposals made by POTASH on the steel strike was listlessly adopted and the floor then opened for proceeding to a discussion upon the main political resolution. When this point was reached, a number of sharp criticisms were leveled from the floor. The draft political resolution was supposed to have been sent to all NC members by mail as early

as July 6, for their study, suggestions and criticism and to allow time for them to prepare notes and comments for their remarks at the full National Committee meeting. The resolution submitted to the members at this meeting had a covering letter which indicated this resolution was prepared and ready for mailing on July 6, but was never sent and the first the members of the NEC saw the resolution was when it was handed to them at this meeting as they entered the hall. Therefore, the resolution was called up for discussion and speeches without the members having had any opportunity for examination, study and preparation of remarks. In answer to these complaints, a proposal was made and adopted that the meeting adjourn for one and one half hours during which time the members could get a sandwich and also hurriedly look through the suggested draft resolution. Considerable remarks were privately expressed that the resolution was held up and presented in this fashion for the sole purpose of depriving a far-going examination and constructive discussion upon its line and proposals. It seemed obvious that the intent of the small group in the resident NEC was to ride this resolution through the meeting with as little concrete

and critical examination and discussion as possible. When the meeting reconvened, about 4:00 p.m., the discussion upon the resolution commenced. The first several speakers as CHASE, HEALEY, GERSON and others, sharply objected to what they characterized as a bureaucratic practice of presenting the resolution in such a way that the members were unable to express their best thoughts and suggestions upon it. As the discussion upon the draft resolution commenced, BART and DENNIS made another odd proposal to the meeting. The proposal was that the content of this resolution be discussed in part, that is, the subjects included only in the first sixteen pages of the draft. These are considered the general political problems, the questions of the Party's line on national and international affairs and things of that nature. It was proposed that section five of the resolution which occupied from page 16 to 23 be set aside for a separate discussion entirely. It was also indicated perhaps as a method of side tracking sharp criticism and controversy over section 5, that the section is in need of substantial amendment and that such amendment is being considered and a separate resolution will be prepared and be presented on the subject

of Party organizational problems. It should be noted that under Section 5 of the resolution are contained most, if not all, those subjects which are bound to occasion sharpest disagreement and controversy. Obviously this was a tactic to side track such a type of discussion and to concentrate all attention and consideration upon what it generally conceded to be the non-controversial and generally acceptable feature of the resolution. As indicated, those features deal with general, national and international problems and the Party view and attitude toward them. Very few Communists, if any, would disagree or present a contrary policy to that indicated in the first sixteen pages of the draft resolution. The meeting accepted the proposal only under the impression that it would be an efficient division of the subjects so that each group would receive a better attention and treatment. Unknown at the time was the fact that this proposal was really intended to prevent all of those subjects under section 5, from coming before the meeting at all and to completely side track, deter and prevent any kind of a discussion upon them. The result was another very general and very vague discussion upon the first portion of this resolution. Despite the constricted

fashion in which it was presented to the meeting, a considerable number of disappointments were registered by various speakers.

STEVE NELSON expressed the most sharp and contemptuous attitude toward the resolution. He characterized it as the same old story, nothing new, uninspiring, flat and a resolution evasive of the practical realities and problems of our life and our times. He felt the resolution deeply reflected the total isolation of the Party from the realities of American life and in his mind the inability of the leadership of the Party to comprehend what was fundamentally necessary to bring about a change from what we presently confront. He was especially critical of the seeming inability of the leadership to understand the course and expected development of the total economy. He expressed impatience against LUMER's economic article, of the Party's lack of knowledge and understanding as to the economic process and the Party's role arising therefrom.

NELSON's remarks were an oblique attack upon the entire line of the present leadership and the leadership itself, which he held to be incompetent and unable to extricate the Party from the situation in which it finds itself.

Other speakers representing the former rightist view

as RICHMOND, HEALEY, GERSON, were not as sharp as NELSON in their attack, but confined themselves to general agreement with the line of the resolution in regard to the struggle for peace and the policy of striving to create a broad democratic front but at the same time expressed their disappointment in what they thought was the emptiness and vagueness of the resolution and said that it was not the type of resolution that would arouse, inspire and mobilize the depressed ranks of the Party for new gains. Another group of speakers such as DAVIS, CHASE, BLUM and others contented themselves with picking out one or another specific and insignificant topic as the excuse to really speak upon other questions. It was obvious from the remarks of DAVIS and BLUM that there existed at this meeting a deep undercurrent of struggle between the group known as leftists, ultra leftists and the national office leadership of DENNIS, LUMER and STACHEL. You will observe on page 19, under point seven of the resolution a direct attack against those forces within the Party who are considered to be taking a negative attitude toward the mass struggle being developed by or through union organizations and who proclaim the need of united front Party activity,

independent of and from the mass movements and mass organizations. Also under point nine on page 21, where the Party is called upon to vigorously combat doctrinarianism and sectarianism and to conduct a relentless struggle against ultra-leftism and factionalism. This is the subject which arouses the ire of the left and ultra-left element headed by BEN DAVIS, [REDACTED] MANNY BLUM and a number of others who actually oppose the resolution and want substituted instead of this attack upon the ultra-left, to establish the principle that the main enemy of the Party internally is not the leftists but that of the remnants of revisionists and right-wing opportunism. On the other hand, the sections of the resolution under section five, which warned the Party against the revisionists and opportunists is objected to by the remnants of the right-wing forces who want to establish that this is a minor ailment altogether. Consequently, in the National Committee, and at this meeting, there were reflected the continuation of the struggle between the two narrow wings of leftists on the one hand and rightist opportunist elements on the other. Under the guise of constructive-

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ly discussing the political aspects of the draft resolution both these tendencies freely dealt with their pet peeves at the least opportunity. The general discussion upon the political aspects of the resolution and as said with the exclusion of the organizational problems under section five, resulted in the main in an arid, very general and quite meaningless discussion. First, because no one in the meeting opposed or as CARL WINTER said in his remarks, had any opposite or contrary policy to present with respect to the main policy question. The discussion was animated only at times when speakers stopped to inject or smuggle into the meeting and discussion the factionalism disagreements and the animosity which are rampant. This was best expressed and exemplified when the letter of FOSTER was read. LUMER read a letter from FOSTER being FOSTER's comments upon the draft resolution which he had earlier read. The contents of FOSTER's letter certainly were not agreed to by STACHEL, DENNIS and LUMER, but they faced the quandry of how to handle this like previous epistles from FOSTER without opening up the floodgate of a knock-down fight with the leftist bloc.

FOSTER stated in his letter that in the main he agreed with the general line of the resolution with respect to its political policy of being for a people's front of emphasizing the peace struggle, and similiar basic issues. However, he wished to make a few amendments which he thought was necessary to sharpen up the points already indicated. The amendments he suggested were not amendments at all but were totally new, and in some respects, opposite proposals to what the resolutions proposed. First, he thought the resolution under-stressed the actual danger of the outbreak of war and consequently was not indicating in the sharpest form the policies necessary to alert the people to such dangers. On politics he again raised in a very aggressive manner, the subject which several of his previous letters have gone into in detail. That is, the necessity of the Party commencing to make as an active issue of the day, the need of the organization of a labor party (farmer-labor party). Third, on matters relating to the internal struggle, he raised very sharply the argumentation that it is the rightist-opportunist danger which is the major enemy of the party.

If one were to examine the FOSTER letter and the draft resolution, it would be seen that FOSTER severely opposes, certainly on the aforementioned three subjects, the formulations and the attitude expressed in the resolution. In other words he postulates a contrary political line and obviously sets himself, and those who support him, in opposition to the stated policy in the draft resolution. In other words it exemplifies the continuousness of FOSTER's sharp disagreement with the policies and line expressed and being followed by DENNIS, STACHEL, LUMER, JACKSON, and those who are considered to be the ruling force within the present operative leadership of the Party. Foster, on the one hand, and the other group on the other hand, are confronted by the problem and the necessity of waging this disagreement in such oblique forms at the present time or else risk the open break that neither of them at this moment appears to want. The result is a constant undercurrent of pot-shotting, sniping, attacking and counter-attacking, in so-called polite fashions, which however, does not delude or mislead anyone listening in on the matter. It was understood FOSTER's letter

would be read and considered part of the discussion and FOSTER's general views upon the subjects before the meeting and that his views would receive the same attention and consideration in the final formulating of the resolution as that of any other speaker. At this point however, MANNY BLUM upset the applecart with a strong implication that he was speaking directly on the authority of FOSTER. BLUM made a long speech as to the correctness of the views contained in the FOSTER letter and the absolute necessity of these views being made a part of the final resolution. Whereupon, he made a formal motion that the letter of FOSTER be adopted by the meeting as its own views and that its contents be inserted into the final resolution. This was all that was necessary to uncork the pent up wrangles that up to this point had been deftly deferred or sidetracked. It was the occasion for the immediate taking sides, wherein everyone in the meeting was placed in the uncomforaable position of being made to declare himself if he is for or against FOSTER. In BLUM's support was the small knot of ultra-leftists such as [redacted] and noticeably in support

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when motions were being voted on, TURNER of Chicago, and unexplainably PATTERSON. A nasty and disagreeable situation ensued as a result of BLUM's motion. As is the habit of National Committee meetings, it wandered into a most confused and mixed up parliamentary situation. BEN DAVIS was placed in a very uncomfortable position for although he is in deepest sympathy with the ultra-leftist crowd he was annoyed at the ineptness of BLUM for placing everyone in an uncomfortable situation and tactically a very unwise state of affairs. After more than an hour of wrangling, this situation was resolved by a direct vote. STACHEL had made a motion which had been amended several times to the general effect that FOSTER's letter be received and his views accepted for consideration on the same basis of the views of any other speaker, by the committee which will edit the final resolution. On this vote, a direct division took place where only the small knot of ultra-leftists voted for the proposal of BLUM. That was BLUM, [REDACTED] TURNER and I believe PATTERSON. Parenthetically, this is the first time PATTERSON has ever been seen to vote in the National Committee and the question

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is who elected him and when. About ten people abstained on the STACHEL motion. Namely as a result of disgust with the total proceedings, not that they were particularly in favor with BLUM. or STACHEL. I believe the vote was 25 for the STACHEL motion, eight abstentions, and five or six voting for the BLUM. motion. The next day this question flared up again. Apparently overnight, someone had talked to BLOOM or perhaps FOSTER had heard of the proceedings and realized that BLUM ineptly had created a situation which pulverized and forced a disagreeable division on an unnecessary issue between all the members of the National Committee. It is very likely, FOSTER directly intervened with BLUM. Surely BLUM would pay attention to no one from the other side. In any case, toward the end of the NC meeting, BLUM rose to indicate that he had unanimous agreement on the part of the leading comrades to make a statement. He made a statement merely requesting permission to withdraw his motion of the day before and to expunge the entire event from the records of the meeting. HEALEY, GANLEY, GERSON and several others indignantly refused to hear of it. They argued it was as easy to expunge yesterday's rain-

fall. However, the rainfall took place and no matter how much we said it did not, it did take place. They argued that it was impossible to expunge the fact that something occurred and that it should remain as so. Others argued heatedly that BLUM. had a right to withdraw his motion and that the occurrence not be published but if necessary retained as a part of the Party records. This again took nearly an hour during which acrimony and bitterness was freely expressed. It was finally voted with about eight people abstaining, and four or five voting no to allow BLUM. to withdraw his motion and to make no reference of the event in Party Affairs or other Party publications. I have dealt with the side occurrences. somewhat at length only for the purpose of indicating that despite the appearances of unity and calm, there exists underneath a vast division of the National leadership, the separation of not only persons but of ideology, The main contestants in this internal struggle now are not so much the rightists revisionists group which have been substantially defeated and are presently meaningless but it is between those forces consisting of FOSTER, *cont p 24*

at the meeting and participated only on parliamentary matters and side line unimportant questions. Very often very much of the meeting was in charge of and occupied by what is known as the lunatic fringe of the National Committee, such as HOMER CHASE, who is charged by all comrades as having a severe epidemic of verbal diahrea, ready to speak on any subject at any time whether he knows anything about it or not, such as MANNY BLUM and a number of others. Therefore, before the meeting was not a united line, prosecuted by a united leadership, but a meeting that was allowed to wander on its own unorganized way. The effect of this atmosphere was widely commented on by a number of speakers. It was referred to as a condition of dry rot pervading the entire body. GUS HALL on whom many party people look as a possible strong and competent Party leader, contented himself in the two full days of the meeting with a ten minute talk on the main resolution. His speech indicated that he knows what the score is, knows the serious situation the Party is in, realizes its lack of policy and leadership, but only hinted at these matters. He characterized the resolution as *conf p 25*

DAVIS, DENNIS and supporters. These undercurrents commenced to show probably as a result of the imminence of the National Convention and the necessity on the part of the protagonists to commence jockeying for positions of authority and strength.

As the discussion on the draft resolution proceeded, it became apparent that the position of DENNIS has become progressively weaker. At this meeting of the National Committee an odd situation prevails. The so-called authoritative and responsible parts of the leadership played only a minimal role. They did not appear at the meeting in a united, aggressive, forceful way pressing for their view, arguing for their policies and striving to unite the largest number of supporters around them.

JACKSON, for example, despite the fact that the Negro resolution, of which he is the author, was before the meeting for final adoption, decided instead to go on vacation and not appear at the meeting.

DENNIS absented himself from the entire afternoon and evening session of the first day on the announcement that he felt ill.

GEORGE MORRIS and others were heard to snort and say he is not ill, only scared to death.

DAVIS, LUMER, STACHEL & POTASH played no leadership role

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inadequate, as not expressing or establishing what has to be done. He said however that perhaps the lack of adequate collective discussion is responsible for it. He characterized the resolution as not being of a quality as would arouse and give leadership to the Party members. He said that the resolution impressed him as a fall catalog, merely listed subjects, items and problems but giving no adequate answer to any of them. He thought that the resolution should be substantially strengthened, lightened, and rewritten to relieve it of its heaviness and uninspiring impression. He thought the resolution avoided or ignored some of the most basic events and occurrences taking place in our nation and in the world. And to do that would mean that we are intellectually and otherwise behind the times. Moreover, that we would be then unable to promulgate policies and tactics warranted by the actual situation which we confront. HALL's remarks were widely construed as highly critical of and separating himself from the ruling group in the NEC, and as striving to indicate that he takes no responsibility for the document as it stands because he appears to have little to do with its preparation.

In this sense HALL continues to pursue the same course earlier indicated in these reports which since his return to leadership, has been an effort to indicate that he views things differently than ^W DENNIS and has different approaches on many Party questions. That he did not play a more aggressive role may be due to the fact that he does not consider it yet opportune ^{for} appropriate to barge out in more challenge to DENNIS, STACHEL and some others. But at least he gave indications that he is still on that road. The discussion on the first part of the main resolution continued until near the close of the first day. As earlier indicated, there is little to report in terms of the actual statements remarks, speeches, of almost anyone who spoke, as they were vague, general and meaningless, that they had utterly no effect upon anyone sitting in the meeting. And they were of a pattern, commensurate with the nature of the meeting, which was, to allow time to pass without anything occurring in order to arrive at a mechanical vote of approval upon the resolution without having to permit adequate time for anyone to really say anything about it. For that reason

when the vote came to adopt the resolution, there was little to vote against on the part of even the conflicting forces within the meeting. The vote on the first part of the resolution was unanimous. Perhaps one or two people abstained for one or another unimportant reason. The adoption of this resolution was of course unanimous, primarily because it masked and avoided any direct disagreement on the many questions which remained undercurrent. The session of July 26, was opened by BART, who stated that there is a considerable support privately indicated that BILL ALBERTSON should chair the meeting. This was another way of saying that the National Office group decided they wanted someone in the chair to carry out whatever they would want done. This soon became clear when ALBERTSON commenced to make rulings upon a number of questions. The next item on the agenda was to have been a continuation of the draft political resolution, section five, relating to the Party and its internal problems. This was decided the day before to separate the two parts of the resolution. The vote taken the evening before, in fact, related solely to the first sixteen pages of the resolution. ALBERTSON proceeded to astound the meeting by blithely

stating that there was nothing to discuss in relation to Section Five of the resolution because the vote taken the day before was on the question of adopting the whole resolution and not in part, and that if anyone wished to discuss Section Five, it could only in the constricted aspects of it having already been approved and adopted the day before. This ruling occasioned a greater rumpus than that surrounding the BLUM motion on FOSTER's letter. At least ten people were on their feet at one time constantly yelling and trying to get the floor. At least eight people who had voted the evening before affirmatively for the resolution, one after the other rose to speak, "I withdraw my vote and have it recorded against the resolution if this is the case."

HEALEY charged this to be a cheap and deceitful way of having a resolution adopted by a meeting. LIMA, who always takes very careful notes at these meetings, read from his notes that [redacted] E. DENNIS, BART and others had clearly stated that Section Five would be discussed and voted upon separately.

GANLEY, who is considered very much of a parliamentarian, vehemently objected, read his notes and argued that

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Section Five was now before the meeting in full.

ALBERTSON, apparently sure of his strength, due to whatever private arrangements or discussions may have been held, told the meeting that he ruled in such a fashion, would stand by his ruling, and that if anyone desired to appeal his ruling he would place the motion and call for a division of the house.

It is not known what division would have occurred on this question because all those opposing ALBERTSON's cynical ruling for some reason judged it unwise, or of no use, to engage in parliamentary shindigs, for no one appealed his ruling. The result was no one wished to speak on Section Five, on the assumption there was nothing to say and that everything within the resolution was therefore adopted and that it would be useless. The only satisfaction given to those who were very angry was an announcement by LUMER that there would be later prepared a separate resolution on the organizational problems of the Party too would be presented to the convention.

The result of this little trickery is that the full National Committee was tricked out of any discussion whatsoever upon the very many controversial questions contained in Section

Five of the main political resolution. Now perhaps this was the inane and childish idea of DENNIS, STACHEL and others, to forestall a division and possibly a split or at the last a sharp line-up just before the convention would convene. Perhaps this was their way of figuring to keep hostile tendencies and views under suppression until the convention comes about. They consider as hostile views the two extreme wings within the leadership and within the Party. These are the leftist and ultra-leftist bloc versus the remnants of the rightist-revisionists group.

(Suffice to say that the National Committee meeting, instead of airing controversial issues on all these subjects and leaving the meeting in a more clear and united fashion, only swept them under the rug where they will continue to fester and will most likely emerge in sharp focus between now and the convention and surely at the convention itself. I am not encumbering this report with a detailed discussion of the controversial and disputed issues, as I append a copy of the draft political resolution and have referred to the points throughout this report which you can review for yourself.)

The main political resolution was there-

fore "adopted" by the National Committee on a motion that the resident NEC would elect a subcommittee for the purpose of "editing", "polishing" and to take into account the suggestions and views of every speaker at the meeting, and that within the earliest possible time, preferably before the end of August, the resolution be published in Party Affairs and printed for circulation throughout the country.

In the same connection it was decided that the Party discussion period would open on September 1 and last until the convening of the National Convention; that coincidental with the opening of the discussion, all the resolutions being considered by this meeting be prepared and be printed and in the hands of the Party membership. That will mean this political resolution should publicly appear within the next several weeks.

It will be interesting to compare the draft which I append hereto with the finished one which will appear about September 1.

The next subject dealt with was the draft resolution on Negro work. This resolution presumes to be the new and amended document amending that from the several previous documents and long discussion held for the past year within the Party. Even at that

this draft is considered inadequate and quite weak from what the leadership wants. LIGHTFOOT presented the draft resolution on behalf of the NEC with a list of about seven or eight suggested amendments to strengthen the document. The discussion upon this draft resolution was characteristic of the other and nothing new was said by anyone. It was merely the occasion again for eight or ten people to make long and resounding speeches on the Negro Question. Standing out however, was and is the fact that the resolution is deficient in explaining to the Party membership and particularly to its Negro members, the complete and fundamental reasons for the Party abandoning its slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the South. This slogan has occasioned the most widespread opposition particularly on the part of Negro members in the Party and a segment of leftists white members. JACKSON and the authors of the new line do not adequately explain but hedge on why this slogan is inappropriate in the Marxist sense and why it must be dropped. A point of objection on the part of many is that the slogan is dropped but not replaced with

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anything else. The question is widely asked by Negro Communists is what then in our view are the Negro masses, a National minority, a nation within a nation, or something else, and the resolution does not presume to answer. This resolution was adopted with two or three votes against or abstaining. Again these votes were from the leftist group as [redacted] and one or two others, on account of the reason just mentioned. The final point dealt with by the meeting was a report by BART on proposals of the NEC for the National Convention. First, that the National Convention be held on December 10 - 13, inclusive, at the Hotel Therese in New York City. Second, that the basis of representation to the Convention be on the following complicated schedule. Districts with only up to fifty members, one delegate. Districts with members from fifty to 100, two delegates. Districts with 100 or slightly more members, two delegates per one hundred. Districts with members of from two hundred members of thereabouts, two delegates per each hundred members. Districts with 300 members or better, three delegates per one hundred members. For example, if a district has 300 members it would be entitled

to nine delegates. This schedule goes upward for districts with higher members. In answer to a question as to how many delegates was roughly contemplated, BART said it was difficult to say but his general impression was that it would be in the neighborhood of 100 to 125, altogether. A long debate ensued over the matter of what time period for dues payments should be considered as the period for the election of delegates. It was finally decided that dues paid between October, 1958, and October, 1959, would be averaged to establish the districts total membership as a basis of representation to the National Convention.

Finally, a tax was levied on the membership for convention assessment. This will amount to a sum equal to two months dues for the members.

On the draft document of the constitution, another strange event took place. As is known the NEC several months ago established a subcommittee of BART, TOOHEY, WEINSTOCK, ALBERT-SON and a Negro woman to rewrite the constitution and be prepared to submit a draft of the new constitution to this meeting of the National Committee. It was presumed that this document would then become the draft proposal for discussion between now and the convention and then be acted upon at the convention. The subcommittee prepared their document and under date of July 25

it was given to the members of the National Committee containing the proposed recommendations of amendments, changes and deletions in the present constitution. But the document presented to the National Committee meeting was the draft of a new constitution altogether, to replace the existing one. It is unknown who prepared it, totally ignoring the established subcommittee which had worked on it.

When the National Committee meeting arrived at the point of considering this document, [redacted] of Michigan arose to make a motion that the document not be considered by this meeting, that the National Committee not take up or discuss the present or the new constitution, but that the NEC be charged with setting up a Convention Constitution Committee, and that all clubs and districts be urged to send to this committee any amendment or suggested change and that such changes be presented directly to the National Convention.

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Prior to [redacted] making this motion, BART had a talk with TOOHEY, who was a member of the subcommittee working with BART on preparing the draft document. BART advised TOOHEY that there was "some opinions" that the National Committee meeting should not go into the constitution and the earlier draft and work of the subcommittee be junked. He indicated that it would not be a valuable discussion, nothing would come of it, and perhaps the best thing to do would be to

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to throw the entire question into the National Convention. TOOHEY was heard to inquire whose opinions were these. BART indicated vaguely that there were two considerations involved. One, some legal considerations. Secondly, to deflect presently any argumentation on constitutional questions which would only have a divisive effect. The motion made by [redacted] was unanimously adopted primarily because it was within a half hour of adjournement time and no one saw the possibility of any discussion upon any other subject due to the lack of time and necessity to catch trains, whereupon the meeting adjourned.

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Those present at the conference on the steel strike
(which is referred to above), held at CP, USA, Headquarters,
N.Y.C., on 7/24/59, were:

WILLIAM ALBERTSON	ANTON KRCHMAREK	JACK STACHEL
EMANUEL BLUM	SAM KUSHNER	PAT TOOHEY
BEN DAVIS	MICKEY LIMA	CARL WINTER
FLO HALL	GEORGE MEYERS	HOMER CHASE
GUS HALL	BURT NELSON	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	IRVING POTASH	GEORGE MORRIS
ARNOLD JOHNSON	[REDACTED]	TOM NABRIED
PHIL BART	HY LUMER	WILLIAM PATTERSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT		

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SAC, NEW YORK

August 17, 1959

SAC, CHICAGO (100-16582)

MEL WILLIAMSON
SECURITY MATTER - C

b7D

On July 28, 1959, [redacted], who has furnished insufficient information to determine reliability, orally furnished SA CARL N. FREYMAN with information appearing on the following page. This information was reduced to writing on August 17, 1959.

All information furnished by this high placed PSI should be suitably paraphrased and if any interviews are conducted as a result of the receipt of this information, extreme caution must be used to protect this source.

3. New York (REGISTERED)
1. 100- [redacted] (CP, USA- Membership)
1. New Haven (REGISTERED)
100- [redacted]

[redacted]
CNF/njb
(6)

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100-80638-1630

J. F. Oster, Jr.
X-5

August 17, 1959

It has been ascertained from sources believed reliable within the leadership of the Communist Party (CP), that [redacted], formerly a national leader of the Labor Youth League, is currently in New York and has broken completely from the CP. According to information ascertained, [redacted] is also broke financially at the present time.

Further, it has been ascertained from the same sources and from personal knowledge that [redacted] ISADORE WOFSEY, [redacted] is currently employed in Connecticut and attending school. He reportedly is out of the CP and is employed in private industry as a chemist. [redacted] was formerly a high ranking official of the Labor Youth League.

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)(F-21)

3/10/52

SA [redacted]

(F-21)

SA - C

Identity of Source

[redacted] who has furnished
reliable information for the
past (conceal)

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b7C
b7D

Description of Info

Report of a conversation between

Date Received

3/11/52

Received By

SA [redacted] (written)

Original Focused

A copy of informant's report follows:

[redacted]
1 - New York (100-13570) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-80638) VP, USA - [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-13517) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-13519) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-11656) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-13417) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-78545) [redacted] (F-21)
1 - New York (100-80140) (F-21)

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b7D

SA
(S)

info John Thomas

3/10/52

100-80638-1631

J. F. Watson J.S.
4/5

NY 100-30179

August 6, 1959

Report of a conversation between [redacted]
[redacted] on Saturday, July 25, 1959, at 414 Beach 27th Street,
Far Rockaway, New York.

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[redacted] had called [redacted] on Thursday evening and asked
him to come out to see her on Saturday because she had some
important matters to discuss with him.

After [redacted] arrived, [redacted] suggested that they walk
down to the beach in order that they could talk privately. [redacted]
told [redacted] that there was a problem about [redacted] attending
Communist Party (CP) club meetings. She said that she had been
called downtown by some person whom she did not identify in
order to discuss the advisability of [redacted] attendance, because
of his job, at CP club meetings.

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[redacted] said that she had been told that it would be
safer for [redacted] because of the nature of his job- he is a
school teacher, and for the CP that for a period of time he does
not attend club meetings.

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[redacted] said that it had been suggested to her that for
the time being, [redacted] could meet with her or someone else and
at that meeting be told what had been resolved or discussed
at the club meeting. She went on to tell [redacted] that, at present,
the CP does this type of thing with trade union leaders who are
members of the CP but the CP does not want them attending CP
meetings. She also told [redacted] that these trade union leaders,
whom the CP wants to safeguard, have submitted their resignations
from the CP to CP headquarters, and, in fact, there that these
signatures are kept in a safe.

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The reasoning behind this [redacted] said, is that when one
of the individuals involved is called before a Congressional
Committee they can say that they are no longer members of the CP.
This kind of action, [redacted] explained, protects them and it protects
the party.

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NY 100-89179

[redacted] then asked [redacted] what he thought of that kind of an arrangement. [redacted] said that he felt that the CP must suffer because as he saw the arrangement, the party loses the advantage of the presence of these intelligent individuals when matters pertinent to the success of the party's programs are discussed. [redacted] said that he would not go for that kind of an arrangement. He said that he felt if the party wanted his intellectual capacities had enough, then, it would seek to him another kind of an arrangement could be had that would be advantageous to the CP and him.

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He went on to tell [redacted] that is expected to be a leader in the party some day therefore, according to [redacted] the importance of attending Marxist classes and club discussions.

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[redacted] replied that she had no doubt about [redacted] becoming a leader in the party and, furthermore, she said, the CP wants him where he is now, as a teacher, and wants him there as a Communist.

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As the discussion continued, [redacted] was still very much opposed to the proposed arrangement as stated by [redacted]. [redacted] then asked [redacted] about the possibility of his meeting this person. [redacted] asked [redacted] if he was serious about meeting this person. [redacted] said that he would certainly welcome the opportunity to meet and speak with him about this matter.

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[redacted] told [redacted] that it was not as yet a definite decision on the question of his attending or not attending club meetings. [redacted] asked [redacted] if he wasn't concerned about the possibility of loss of his job if it was disclosed that he is a CP and attends meetings. Also, involved, she said, is the matter of the loyalty oath [redacted] has to sign. [redacted] advised her that as far as the loyalty oath goes he signed one a long time ago and he would not have to sign one unless he went to another school system. With respect to losing his job, [redacted] told [redacted] that only a fool would say that he is not afraid of losing his job. No one, [redacted] said, deliberately places himself in a position whereby a loss of job would result. However,

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NY 100-39179

[redacted] said, as he told [redacted] some time ago when [redacted] asked him this very question, that if a cause is worth the risk then it is worth giving up a position for it.

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[redacted] expressed surprise that [redacted] had discussed this matter with [redacted] previously. It was before, [redacted] said, he [redacted] became a CP member.

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[redacted] also told [redacted] that one of the things that impressed him relative to protection of CP members attending meetings was the time she invited him to attend the meeting when that fellow JACK spoke. After he finished speaking, [redacted] had advised the people present to leave in pairs after a few minutes had elapsed. If it could be done at that meeting, [redacted] said, then it could be done at every meeting.

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[redacted] suggested the possibility of just having, in the Fall, a Marxist teacher speak before a group of them and then have a discussion. [redacted] said that would be fine in conjunction with club meetings.

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The only thing that seemed to satisfy [redacted] was the possibility of meeting this person who was concerned over the job security of [redacted] urged [redacted] to arrange a meeting for [redacted] with him so that [redacted] could present his own position in this matter. [redacted] promised that she would.

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During their conversation, [redacted] told [redacted] that she was thinking about asking [redacted] by a later date of coming into the party. She asked [redacted] what he thought of the idea. [redacted] said that he felt that [redacted] was a nice fellow but, that he didn't know how he thought because [redacted] didn't say too much at the Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties meetings.

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[redacted] earlier had told [redacted] that this whole problem relative to his attendance at CP meetings came up as a result of mentioning [redacted] name publicly at [redacted] party at the Allerton Center. [redacted] said that she was then called downtown to be questioned about [redacted]. [redacted] wanted to know why [redacted] had to be called downtown if they have the information about him on the card. [redacted] said that he remembered this, because [redacted] had read from [redacted] card at the first CP meeting, [redacted] attended as a member.

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NY 100-89179

[redacted] said that they don't have names on a card just a number. [redacted] number she said is 15. On [redacted] card, she said, it is only stated that he is a professional person.

As [redacted] left, [redacted] promised that she would try and arrange a meeting for [redacted] with this person downtown. [redacted] told her that before he agreed to any arrangement, he would like to meet this person because he felt that something could be worked out to the advantage of the CP and himself.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 8/24/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP,USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO
IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

On 7/22 and 7/23/59, an enlarged NEC meeting of the CP,USA was held in CP headquarters, NYC. Among those present were EUGENE DENNIS, BURT NELSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, IRVING POTASH, JACK STACHEL, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.,

- 3- Chicago (RM)
 - (1- 100- CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2- Detroit (Info) (RM)
 - (1- 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2- Seattle (Info) (RM)
 - (1- 100-127) (BURT NELSON)
- 1- New York (100-80640) (CP,USA-Negro Question) (415)
- 1- New York (100-89590) (CP,USA-Strategy in Industry) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80638) (CP,USA-Membership) (415) *p4*
- 1- New York (97-169) ("The Worker")
- 1- New York (100-52959) (422)
- 1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-91330) (415)
- 1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1- New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (416)
- 1- New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
- 1- New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80641) (415)

JAC:gms
(25)

100-80638-1632

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
# 1013 AUG 24 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

M. U. Waters J. V. W.

NY 100-80641

HY LUMER, CARL WINTER, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, PHIL
BART, WILLIAM ALBERTSON, ARNOLD JOHNSON and [redacted]
[redacted]

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All of the above individuals were observed by
Special Agents of the FBI entering CP headquarters
presumably to attend this meeting. [redacted]
was observed on the first day only and WILLIAM ALBERTSON
on the second day only.

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The Bureau was furnished a summary of proceedings
at this meeting by teletypes 7/22, 23 and 24/59. This letter
is being submitted to fully disseminate the information
to individual case files.

Proceedings as reported by NY 2359-S* follow:

On 7/22/59 EUGENE DENNIS opened the meeting and
acted as chairman. He announced the agenda as (1) the
Negro Question (2) Proposed Amendments to the CP constitution
(3) Report from Sub-Committee on Draft Resolution and
(4) a series of proposals for NEC to place before NC
such as the date and place for the next convention.

ARNOLD JOHNSON then read a letter by WILLIAM Z.
FOSTER addressed to the NEC concerning changes which FOSTER
desired to be made in the draft resolution as proposed by
EUGENE DENNIS. FOSTER suggested certain changes to deal with
DENNIS' resolution. Concerning CP leadership, FOSTER
suggested that at the coming convention a three man
secretariat should be elected, composed of BEN DAVIS, Jr.,
EUGENE DENNIS and GUS HALL.

Following the reading of FOSTER's letter, BEN
DAVIS, Jr. stated that he would favor a complete reworking
of DENNIS' document if time would permit. DAVIS criticized
certain "inadequacies" of DENNIS' document, specifically
stating that the document does not stress present
conditions concerning the Negro people, the labor movement,
and events in Latin America. He said the document failed
to stress that the gains made under American capitalism

NY 100-80641

have been achieved at the expense of the degradation of American youth, the insecurity of the American people, and the general moral decay of American society. DAVIS said that he wanted it made clear that American capitalism is "too rotten" to be reformed.

BURT NELSON stated that he had some general reservations concerning DENNIS' document which he hoped to see resolved. He said that attention should be given to the sharpening up of the growing struggle between labor and monopoly. He said that during the past year labor has been bought off by prosperity and that the labor vs. monopoly struggle will not be won without a real battle. An individual believed by informant to be [redacted] stated that he was generally in favor of the resolution.

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT commented that he was in favor of the resolution, but added that they should place more emphasis on individual action.

CARL WINTER said that he was not in favor of the resolution expressing the thought that this resolution would cause the coming convention to "annihilate" the previous convention, adding that one convention should correct another but not downgrade it.

HY LUMER commented that he was in favor of the resolution, but agreed in part with WINTER that we must deal with past weaknesses in the Party.

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that the Party must put forth more specific formulations on the war danger with the spotlight on Berlin. He said the Party must speak out against some of GEORGE MEANEY's statements which deal more often with foreign policy rather than economic issues; stated that the Negro people must be treated as a force which plays a specific role on the American scene.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN said that she does not like the resolution adding that it was ambiguous, part report and part resolution. She said the American people as a whole need a clear understanding of the nature of the CP; said the

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language in the resolution is full of "party cliches", not likely to be understood.

PHIL BART stated he favored some changes "here and there" in DENNIS' draft resolution.

IRVING POTASH commented that he agreed with LIGHTFOOT that the whole resolution requires a positive approach in dealing with the new problems that have arisen. He said the role of labor leaders should be sharper and that more should be said concerning the steel strike by convention time. He thought BILL (FOSTER) covered the united front question very well and was also in agreement with BEN (DAVIS) and CLUADE (LIGHTFOOT) that the Negro question must be made a central question.

JACK STACHEL said he agreed with the "main mass line of the document," but that the Party is not clear as to what kind of a document it wants; said the choice lies between a "manifesto" for the people and a resolution with conclusions. STACHEL said he favored a resolution which the Party could stand on.

JACK STACHEL stated that after a lapse of many years, attention is being given to problems of Party organization such as the holding of club meetings regularly, collection of dues, distribution of literature, mass education, problems of the united front and how to emphasize and develop the Party's vanguard role. STACHEL stated that the Party's membership today is small and the membership in the big shops and basic industries have suffered grave losses, the age level of the Party membership is very high with losses proportionately greatest among the younger members. He said the decline of Negro membership at a time when there is oppression of the Negro has been alarming.

BEN DAVIS, Jr. proposed a special section (in the resolution) on the Negro liberation movement. Referring to the French CP, DAVIS said, "The French Party has a strategic role and that strategic role is that everything lies in the direction of getting rid of the powerful

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dictatorship of DE GAULLE." Informant advised that DAVIS then referred to "our" strategic role, but due to the use of the blackboard this information was not available to the informant.

A general discussion followed re recommended changes in draft resolution.

BEN DAVIS said Negro question should be treated as separate resolution because Negro movement marks the first powerful Negro national liberation movement in America since Civil War.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated he sees no difficulty in accepting the draft resolution and incorporating acceptable changes.

DAVIS said he would not vote for just a main line document. He agreed general main line was correct but that "the line is one thing and the document still another thing".

DENNIS argued agreement must be reached on main line before proceeding to act on any amendments, additions, etc. DENNIS proposed draft resolution be discussed and its main political line approved. DENNIS said the approved draft resolution should be taken to the National Committee. Further suggested NEC explain to National Committee why it was unable to have second draft, embodying criticisms and suggestions voiced before NEC. He stated NEC should indicate nature of changes proposed and he noted that National Committee would have its own additional proposals.

Following brief recess, meeting reconvened and considered proposed changes in Communist constitution and its preamble.

DAVIS stated wording of preamble should be changed from "American Negroes" to "American Negro Citizens"

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to emphasize the Negroes' status as "citizens". DAVIS also called for separation of terms, "Fascism and Communism" in preamble.

CARL WINTER proposed only such changes be made in constitution as are absolutely necessary for the next stage in the advancement of the Party and changes be only in such form as may be popularly understood and defended. WINTER feels only a few amendments to constitution should be made rather than a new draft constitution. He said there are some changes he would like to see in constitution, but feels it would be too difficult to explain changes in popular mass way. WINTER referred to page 5 of present constitution and sentence dealing with independence and equality of various communist parties of world. He said he disliked sentence and liked history of sentence even less but feels changing it would not be a grammatical change but a political act inasmuch as a major charge against the Party concerns its relationship with other parties (CPS of other countries). WINTER warned against "playing into the hands of the enemy" by making such a change in the constitution. He said Party has a job to do to make Marxism-Leninism understood in its proper sense among American workers and to rid it of distorted meaning given it, and to bring forward scientific socialism as developed by MARX, ENGELS, and LENIN. WINTER stated writing Marxism-Leninism into constitution some years and deleting it other years enabled enemy to seize upon this to conjure up an absolutely fantastic theory of some kind of new direction of the Party. WINTER referred to people outside the Party now fighting Party such as MEYER (FRANK S. MEYER, who testified before HCUA). He pointed out such enemies of Party could utilize changes in constitution.

HY LUMER referred to HCUA hearing in Washington, D.C. on 7/21/59. He said core of the hearing was that Comrade JAMES JACKSON returned here (from Russia) with a series of directives and then whatever happens after that is a result of these directives. LUMER stated what is done on the constitution must be considered in

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light of these developments and interpretation that will be placed on every word. He said they must go easy in proposing a lot of changes.

BEN DAVIS spoke in favor of including the preamble of constitution and encouraging discussion by the members.

The motion to refer all amendments, articles and sections to the constitution committee was passed. Informant was unable to determine exact vote. A second motion to set up a committee of three who will prepare a draft of the preamble was apparently passed but informant was unable to furnish any additional information re this motion.

On 7/23/59, NY 2359-S* advised that on this date the enlarged NEC meeting continued at CP headquarters, NYC.

DENNIS proposed first order of business be presentation of couple of motions on draft political resolutions. DENNIS read motion he prepared showing NEC generally approved main line of draft resolutions for seventeenth convention and will submit it to National Committee for its consideration. He included a few changes on role of Negro people, struggle for peace, and certain aspects of Party work.

NELSON read short resolution which emphasized inherent danger of monopoly-capitalism. A general discussion followed but DENNIS insisted on "expediting" and called for motion to accept essence of NELSON's motion with appropriate editorial changes. In calling for vote on DENNIS' resolution there was considerable discussion on whether count of pros and cons for resolution should be reported to National Committee. LIGHTFOOT called for vote on resolution and for elimination of tally of individual preferences. DENNIS called for vote and DENNIS' resolution was carried.

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DENNIS proposed as next order of business, Negro question. He indicated JAMES JACKSON was still on vacation. A discussion followed. DENNIS stated struggle of Negro people should be intertwined with anti-monopoly struggle. WINTER stated it should be related to fundamental alliance with all forces.

LIGHTFOOT mentioned three things that should be incorporated in resolution: one, the strength of world socialism and the colonial liberation movement has forced recognition of the Negro question as the number one domestic question. Two, the role of CP,USA and its contribution to the current world situation has been weak. He proposed the resolution be "sharpened up" on contribution CP,USA has made to National Negro Liberation Movement. Three, there must be a basic political realignment of Negro people within framework of socialism. He said this document should give "strategic direction" to Negro movement as to how it can achieve its goal. He noted NAACP is not giving such direction.

DAVIS utilized added security of blackboard and informant was unable to determine full context of his remarks. DAVIS feels resolution does not evaluate fully the situation. He said Party should place before "united working class" a firm position on struggle for Negro freedom. DAVIS remarked there are three fundamental questions that should be reflected in resolution: one, the fact the Negro people's movement is trying to teach "democratic channels". Two, Party policy on question of self-determination should be stronger. Three, Party must show it is a fighting instrument.

LUMER said he felt resolution could be improved.

JOHNSON felt section on South should be enlarged. He stated "our" discussions should relate to problems in areas where there is activity on Negro question.

BART stated he felt Party should adhere to concept of liberation for Negro people.

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ALBERTSON felt resolution should include estimate of leadership of Negro people's movement. He said Negro comrades would not accept resolution as it stands.

POTASH stated leadership and changes in Negro people's movement should be dealt with.

JACK STACHEL and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT alternated in reading the draft resolution on Party organization. This document is summarized as follows: The 17th Party convention will have to give attention to a number of theoretic and political questions; the CP today is dedicated to a better life for the workers. Regarding isolation of the Party, this situation will not clear up by "wishful thinking" but only through hard work; the ruling class is attempting to take all legal rights from the Party, to intimidate people away from the Party and to tell slanderous lies about the Party. It was stated that the Party must overcome this by working with labor and by being identified with the people. All struggles will be effective only when the Party establishes a strong base in the working class; the Negro people are playing a major role in shaping the future of our country, and the Party has to be in the forefront of the struggle in social, economic and political fields. Regarding youth, it was stated that it is important that the Party continue its work in the youth field so that when these youths become adults many of them will find their place in the CP. Regarding problems of circulation of Party literature, civil rights, etc., this to be taken up in the clubs; every shop club will have an education section and every Party club, shop or neighborhood, should have a program of work. The Party must increase its membership and develop a national approach to this question. In order to guarantee membership there must be a full-time organizer and the Party must develop political understanding of the membership and build responsibility on a basis of democratic centralism. It was stated that the Party must increase the circulation of the Party press, set up new clubs and thus bring in new members. The building of "The Worker" has to become a normal day to day task in the Party.

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Informant advised that a general discussion followed the reading of the draft resolution.

EUGENE DENNIS commented that the NEC has decided to inform the National Committee of the proposals concerning the resolution on organization.

HY LUMER commented that JACK STACHEL did not propose the final definitive draft resolution on Party organization, but read a proposed form which could serve as the basis for the draft resolution. LUMER said the draft resolution itself would be ready by September.

MICKEY LIMA commented that the problem was how to characterize the Party's* main experiences of the past few years and incorporate them into this document.

DENNIS then suggested that the committee working on the resolution be authorized to poll opinions.

IRVING POTASH stated that the resolution should be prepared as a "document" not as an "article" and it then should be sent to the members of the National Committee. He added that the opinions and proposals of National Committee members could then be embodied into a resolution by the NEC.

DENNIS introduced the next topic for discussion as the report of the sub-committee on arrangements for the convention dealing specifically with the matter of determining how delegates from the various districts would be selected to attend the convention.

PHIL BART then presented "formulas" under consideration for proportioning delegates but he utilized the added security of the blackboard in so doing and this information was not available to the informant. BART said that the sub-committee has suggested that only those members with dues paid from the first ten months of the year should be eligible for selection as delegates to the convention.

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CARL WINTER opposed the date of October 1st as the ten month limit, stating that dues, and collections often run behind their due date so he figured December 1st as the cut off date.

Following BART's proposals general discussion took place. A motion was passed to present to the National Committee a resolution which would be presented to the state convention to the effect that the state conventions would hold off on the election of National Committee members until after the National Convention has determined the procedure to be followed in changing the method of election.

Next a discussion was held regarding [redacted] [redacted] BEN DAVIS stated that he did not feel the National Committee should act concerning [redacted] unless it also "reviewed a number of other forces in the Party". He said the New York State Committee should handle the [redacted] matter and that the National Committee should take whatever action is recommended by the state.

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MICKEY LIMA stated that the only action the National Committee could take in view of LOMAN's activities and evidence against him was to recommend his removal from the National Committee. No decision was reached as to how the LOMAN matter would be handled.

EUGENE DENNIS made a motion that the NEC recommend to all state committees that they prepare resolutions on the political situation in their respective states. He commented that this was not done at the 1957 convention and it hampered discussion. This motion was passed. Meeting adjourned.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) DATE: 7/30/59
FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#415)
SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS = C

On 6/22/59, NY 1750-S* advised that PHILIP and [redacted] BART had discussed a number of items on that day at their apartment.

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PHILIP mentioned to [] that he had attended a meeting that evening on organization. He said BILL ALBERTSON had raised a number of questions at the meeting, all concerning the NY organization.

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PHILIP said that the national office is going to put the NY CP on the agenda for the following day but that BEN DAVIS has been resenting it. He said he told DAVIS that they are not trying to check up on him or anyone else and that they are just asking for a review which they want on every district so they will have a picture of the whole national organization before the convention began. He said

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1 - NY 100-56579 (PHILIP BART) (415)
1 - NY 100-12959 () (415)
1 - NY 100-129627 (BILL ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (416)
1 - NY 100-67670 () (416)
1 - NY 100-50094 () (416)
1 - NY 100-26603 (CP-NY STATE) (416)
1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (415) *NY*
1 - NY 100-80538 (CP - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1 - NY 100-33473 (SI GERSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-47632 () (415)
1 - NY 100-80641 () (415)

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DAVIS told him they did not need it and if they wanted it they could come to a NYS Board meeting. He said DAVIS has not yet committed himself so they do not know if they are going to do it. He said that GENE DENNIS has been asking him where all the reports are.

PHILIP continued saying that the reason they need all these reports is in order to avoid any surprises at the convention. He said he told DENNIS about his trouble with DAVIS on the NY report.

PHILIP said at this meeting this evening, a lot of items were brought up including some basic changes. He said suggestions were made about the question of Industrial, and cutting down on clubs and having the counties eliminate some sections. He said that on the way home [redacted] was with them. He said that she hollered at him all the way home and called him and the others a bunch of Bureaucrats who could never be seen to discuss problems with. He said he told her she did not know what she was talking about and asked her if she had ever tried to see him.

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PHILIP continued saying that the biggest point was about the large Industrial Division. He said the big thing is that they want to break it down and send some of the sections back to the community. He said the whole thing is to be thoroughly discussed and he does not think ALBERTSON meant cutting it down in the way it sounded in his proposal.

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PHILIP said he himself would let [redacted] continue with her needle trades. [redacted] He said that what she wants is an attachment in Harlem to this thing. He said, according to IDA, the whole thing is [redacted] idea. He said that there is no doubt that the whole thing is revolutionary and has some sound points. He said that the NY organization now has a registration of 1717 which excludes Nassau and a number of other places. He said probably by now they have over 1800 members and they should have about 2,000 by convention. He said there were quite a few people at the meeting including SI "GERSON".

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[redacted] then commented that there are not too many people who know as much about organization as BILL ALBERTSON. PHILIP mentioned that there is a woman, who is a friend of ALBERTSON, who lets him use her car. He said that this woman had some type of a trust fund and the CP is attempting to be made beneficiary of it but they are having numerous difficulties and legal problems.

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The latter reference is undoubtedly to [redacted]

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (61-8077)

DATE: 9/3/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-17517)

SUBJECT: GUS HALL, aka.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C;
SMITH ACT OF 1940;
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
(O.O. - Cleveland)

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on 9/1/59, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on 9/3/59:

- 4 - Bureau (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-3-68) (CP-USA, Membership)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-) (GUS HALL) (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
- 12 - New York (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Fractionalism)
(1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) b2
(1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-128817) (CP-USA, New York District, Membership)
(1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization)
(1 - 100-136078) (Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party)
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS)
(1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
(1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER)
(1 - 100-86971) ()

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See "ii" page for Chicago copies.

100-80638-1634

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CG 100-17517

6 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-20289)

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W
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September 1, 1959

On September 1, 1959, GUS HALL, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA, arrived at the Chicago headquarters of the Communist Party of Illinois and was greeted by MORRIS CHILDS, member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Illinois; CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, and [redacted] Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Illinois. HALL stated that he would remain in the Chicago area until Saturday, September 5, 1959, at which time he would proceed to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. HALL stated that he had been followed by the FBI since he left New York City. He said that he had been followed in Cleveland, and was followed in Chicago from the airport to the District headquarters.

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HALL asked CHILDS if he might stay at CHILDS' residence. CHILDS replied that he was sorry, but his wife, who has been in the hospital for several weeks, was due to come home in a day or two and would need complete quiet for a few days. JIM WEST said that HALL could stay at his residence on the night of September 1, 1959, and that probably arrangements could be made for HALL to stay at WEST's residence until his departure from Chicago.

LIGHTFOOT and [redacted] said that they had not worked out any program for HALL while he will be in Chicago and had no idea what he would do, but they would work out something so that he could meet with individuals.

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Comments by GUS HALL

After [redacted] left the Party headquarters for an appointment, HALL mentioned that the resident National Executive Committee had an informal discussion after the National Committee meeting. During this discussion, it was pointed out that the Party should not have a dogmatic or rigid concept of the democratic front or the anti-monopoly coalition.

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HALL said that he had attended a number of functionaries meetings in New York. He commented that at the principal meeting of this type, it was expected that from fifty to sixty people, at most, would be in attendance. However, by actual count, 145 people were present. HALL also said that he addressed a meeting of functionaries in the Bronx Section, and approximately sixty persons were present. He stated that at this meeting of the Bronx Section, five ex-Party people were present and said that

they are going to re-join the Party. He said that he was driven home from this meeting by both Party and non-Party people.

Next, HALL stated that he is in favor of taking everyone back into the Communist Party. He said, We have to understand why people left the Party. We should not attack them for leaving the Party, but should point out that they had their reasons. They were confused. They were disgusted. Maybe they did not see some things as clearly as did others.

HALL also stated that he had attended a meeting of the State Board of the New York Communist Party District. He claimed that there is a real revival of the Party in the New York District, and that a certain enthusiasm is developing. He said that he had talked with BEN DAVIS after DAVIS returned from his vacation. Because of this change in the Party in New York, HALL believes that the thinking of DAVIS seems to be somewhat different than it was some weeks or months ago.

HALL then stated that the Waterfront Club in the New York District is coming back into the Communist Party. This club sent a statement of self-criticism to the National Office. In this statement, it was pointed out that the members of the club had quit the Communist Party and joined the ultra-Left group (Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party). However, they found out that they went too far astray and that the Communist Party organization is the only organization through which they can work. In the statement, it is also pointed out that the Waterfront Club, as an indication that it is with the Communist Party, expelled ANGEL.

HALL commented that there are some things in this statement which are incorrect. Nevertheless, he thinks that this development shows progress for the Communist Party - USA.

Argument Between JAMES JACKSON and HY LUMER

HALL said that when JIM JACKSON returned from his vacation, he raised hell because his resolution on the Negro question in the United States had been changed. HALL said that he was not involved in this discussion, but that JACKSON and HY LUMER had a real battle. HALL said that as a matter of fact, the fight was so hot that LUMER had to ask JACKSON if JACKSON thinks that the Party has no right to change anyone's resolution. According to HALL, the chief struggle in regard to the changes in the resolution on the Negro question revolves around the emphasis placed on

the land problem in the South. HALL did not go into any further details concerning this problem.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S*

I am inclined to believe that HALL is, to some extent, exaggerating about the revival of Communist Party activity and enthusiasm in the New York District. I believe that he is trying to point out that he is a popular figure and that when he is announced as a speaker for a meeting, this attracts former Party members to the meeting.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 8/20/59

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE HANDLING AND REPORTING OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

7 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
(1 - 100-3-89)(CPUSA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
(1- 100-3-72)(CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
(1- 100-3-75)(CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION)
(1- 100-3-68)(CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP)
(1- 100-62018)(COMINFIL UNITED STEEL WORKERS)

2 - Baltimore (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-12076)(GEORGE MEYERS)

2 - Buffalo (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100- [REDACTED])

2 - Boston (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-775)(HOMER BATES CHASE)

7 - Chicago (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-24729)(EMANUEL BLUM)
(1- 100-2748)(SAM KUSHNER)
(1- 100-18457)(RALPH TURNER)
(1- 100-12459)(FLO HALL)
(1- 100- [REDACTED])
(1- 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

3 - Cleveland (INFO)(RM)
(1- 65-721)(ANTON KRCHMAREK)
(1- 100-421)(GUS HALL)

4 - Detroit (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-8482) [REDACTED]
(1- 100-945)(NAT GANLEY)
(1- 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)

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(1- 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
(1- 100-52578) [REDACTED]
(1- 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
(1- 100- [REDACTED]
(1- 100-) (PETTIS PERRY)
2 - Milwaukee (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-) (ALAN SHAW)
2 - Minneapolis (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100- [REDACTED]
2 - Newark (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-1949) (PAT TOOHEY)
2 - Philadelphia (INFO)(RM)
(1- 65-1686) (TOM NABRIED)
2 - Pittsburgh (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-) (COMINFIL UNITED STEEL WORKERS)
2 - Richmond (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-5638) [REDACTED]
3 - San Francisco (INFO)(RM)
(1- 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
(1- 100-) (AL RICHMOND)
2 - Seattle (INFO)(RM)
(1- 100-127) (BURT NELSON)
1 - NY (100-89590) (CPUSA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (415)
1 - NY (100-79717) (CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (415)
1 - NY (100-80640) (CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
1 - NY (100-80638) (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1 - NY (100-27581) (COMINFIL UNITED STATES WORKERS) (413)
1 - NY (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - NY (100-25623) (ERIC BERT) (422)
1 - NY (101-559) (JESUS COLON) (415)
1 - NY (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (416)
1 - NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
1 - NY (100-26776) [REDACTED] (415)
1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)

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1 - NY (100-13473)(SIMON GERSON)(415)
1 - NY (100-100351)(SYLVIA HALL)(415)
1 - NY (100-84994)(GUS HALL)(415)
1 - NY (100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)
1 - NY (100-105078)(HV LUMER)(415)
1 - NY (100-79025)([REDACTED])(415)
1 - NY (100-47211)(STEVE NELSON)(412)
1 - NY (100-84275)(WILLIAM PATTERSON)(415)
1 - NY (100-48033)(IRVING POTASH)(415)
1 - NY (100-58535)(CONSTANTINE RADZIE)(416)
1 - NY (100-118174)([REDACTED])(416)
1 - NY (100-111666)(JACK SHULMAN)(415)
1 - NY (100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(415)
1 - NY (100-21421)(ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)(415)
1 - NY (100-26018)(LOUIS WEINSTOCK)(415)
1 - NY (100-19679)(ISIDORE WOFSY)(415)
1 - NY (100-83317)(HOSEA HUDSON)(415)
1 - NY (100-13203)(GEORGE MORRIS)(423)

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On 7/25/59, and 7/26/59, the following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI entering Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Avenue, New York City, presumably to attend the meeting of the National Committee (NC), Communist Party (CP), USA, being held on those dates:

WILLIAM ALBERTSON
PHIL BART
ERIC BERT (1st day only)
EMANUEL BLUM
HOMER BATES CHASE (2nd day only)
JESUS COLON
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
EUGENE DENNIS
BEN DOBBS
[redacted]
CHARLES DIRBA
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
NAT GANLEY (2nd day only)
BETTY GANNETT
SIMON GERSON
FLO HALL
GUS HALL
[redacted] (1st day only)
DOROTHY HEALEY
[redacted]
ARNOLD JOHNSON
HOSEA HUDSON (2nd day only)
[redacted] (2nd day only)
ANTON KRCHMAREK
SAM KUSHNER
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
MICKEY LIMA
HY LUMER
[redacted]
GEORGE MEYERS
[redacted]
GEORGE MORRIS (2nd day only)
BURT NELSON
STEVE NELSON (1st day only)

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WILLIAM PATTERSON
PETTIS PERRY
IRVING POTASH
CONSTANTINE RADZIE (1st day only)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 1st day only)
[REDACTED] (1st day only)

[REDACTED]
JACK SHULMAN
JACK STACHEL
PAT TOOHEY
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
RALPH TURNER
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
[REDACTED] (1st day only)
CARL WINTER
ISIDORE WOFSEY

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It is noted that a number of the above individuals were observed on only one of the two days.

[REDACTED] who was present at the meeting, advised that he observed the following individuals present at the meeting on both 7/25/59 and 7/26/59:

ERIC BERT
HOMER BATES CHASE
NAT GANLEY
HOSEA HUDSON
[REDACTED]
GEORGE MORRIS
CONSTANTINE RADZIE
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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The following are the highlights and most important statements made at this meeting as reported by NY 2656-S* on 7/25 and 7/26/59.

JAC:jxb

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FIRST DAYS SESSION
July 25, 1959

At the first day's session of the NC meeting held on July 25, 1959 [redacted] was elected Chairman. BEN DOBBS was elected Secretary for the meeting and PHIL BART was designated to bring in the recommendations of the NEC.

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BART announced the agenda as follows:

1. Discussion of the steel strike.
2. Discussion of the draft political resolution.
3. Political questions.
4. Discussion of the draft constitution.
5. Resolution on Party consolidation.
6. Discussion of preparations for the national convention.

BART also announced the agenda for the following day's session. He said that on July 26, 1959 discussion would be concerned with the negro question and the draft constitution.

Remarks of ANTON KRCHMAREK

The steel strike has evidently been selected as a testing ground for some of the more direct policies that the ruling class in this country is attempting to carry out. This is the culmination of the preparations that have been made over the past dozen or so years. The Taft Hartley Act, the activities of the Mc Clellan Committee and similar factors - all of these were in preparation for the time when they would be ready to move in. The ruling class evidently feels it is not necessary to make further concessions to the working class. In the past years easy concessions have been

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gotten by organized labor. I think the international situation has something to do with it - the feeling that war is something they can't carry through at the present time, and the time has come to settle accounts with the workers at home. I think they want to show who's boss in this capitalist country.

They have undertaken very careful preparations all down the line. The ideological offensive has been stepped up and has brought better results than they anticipated. The unions are on the defensive. MC DONALD went in with the usual line about expecting the usual procedure and then come out with some gains. This has not happened. The Union is on the defensive. That is the situation now. In our area there have been some important developments along that line. First of all, there is a feeling that it will be a long strike - at least two or three months. It is also our feeling that the workers have not felt it yet. In Ohio there has been some 15 or 20 million dollars paid out on supplementary unemployment benefits, there has been vacation pay, etc. As a result, the impact has not yet been felt.

In Cleveland, Youngstown authorities are preparing for a big push on relief. The district has set up welfare committees to handle all relief cases. Picketing has been organized the way it has not been in a long time in our district. The situation is not the same in other districts I understand. Nobcdy is exempt from picketing. People appear when they are supposed to. One other thing in our area which is important is the refusal of the union to provide maintenance crews. This has happened in some areas in other states but not very much. With the exception of the J. and L. in Cleveland, none of the mills are provided with maintenance crews. I understand that in Pittsburgh, the companies have to take out an injunction to allow supervisory people to enter.

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In Lorraine, where the supervisory personnel was doing maintenance, within a half hour, 250 pickets were on the line and blocked the entry of the foremen into the mill. This continued until an agreement was made that foremen would not do maintenance work. One of the main factors is the lack of understanding about what the strike is for. Union leadership has not taken steps to inform the workers what is the issue. One of the issues is the arrogant manner in which the company placed the 8 point demand for placing into their hands controls which would give management the say so over seniority, speed ups, work groups, work relation, etc. This created a new situation as far as the morale of the steel worker is concerned. It has given them a fighting issue - defending the gains that they have ^{won} over the past 25 years. On this they vow they will never retreat. There is a new kind of militancy. There is a lot of unity and experience as a result of last year's struggle on the right to work laws. This is bound to leave its impact. The unions were negative in their attitude on the right to work fight but as it got under way, a tremendous spirit developed.

The big problem is to make the entire working class conscious of its responsibilities, not just to help the steel worker, but that their welfare is also at stake. If capital is successful, they will do it right down the line. They said so. This is what we have to impress on the whole working class. Without that, the fight cannot be won. The united labor organization formed for the right to work campaign, has been revived. A question came up about moving some slag by the Teamsters Union and immediately pickets rushed down there and it was worked out very harmoniously.. I think we have to develop solidarity on a true local level. There are no obstacles to this. "We find that the Party name is welcome in" When we distributed leaflets in one area, people came up and said "Why don't you get something out on the steel strike?".

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They said, "We are going to be on strike in two weeks, why don't you get something out on that?" I think that "The Worker" is beginning to play the kind of job our paper should play in a struggle of this kind, and I think it is going to enable us to bring "The Worker" to the people and to build circulation.

I think that the Party has an opportunity now to enter into struggle and I feel that in Ohio, at least, we are beginning to enter into the struggle. I feel that the Party from the top to the bottom is beginning to play a role directly influencing the course of these developments. I know it has had an influence on our organization especially on the steel areas. Before we had trouble getting a meeting, now we meet, put out a leaflet and distribute it. I think our whole Party has to become involved with this. What is involved is that it requires that the whole working class become involved in the steel strike. This is the challenge to the working class. It is one that will be felt for a long time not only in the economy but also in the political and election fields. Things are building slowly. Problems are beginning to appear for us and the workers. They want help. In the education of the workers as to the why of the strike, they are lost. They don't know how to tackle the job and they are trying to find a way. They are hungry for help. We should help the locals to carry through the things they want done now. They realize what the danger is and what can be done.

We are also carrying the message to the negro community - what it involves to the negro workers because of the work relation and automation as its greatest impact upon the negro workers. I think, Comrades, we have to put our Party on a real fighting basis. I think that the whole Party should become involved in one way or another. There is no reason that even in non-steel area, action cannot be taken by the labor unions - action and support, maybe even relief. There

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is no strike fund in the steel union. Therefore, there is the question of financial support, food, clothing, etc. I think we should see this as a job for our Party.

Remarks of individual believed to be EMANUEL BLUM

I would like to report on the Gary area. As far as steel workers in Gary are concerned, generally, they go fishing, they fix up the house, they go home. This has been the pattern. Union leadership also has been in a situation for some 25 years, that "instead of asking for our cooperation" A history of this sort does not allow for real preparation in the struggle that is shaping up. It does not prepare the labor leaders for the sharp close struggle that is needed today. The fact is that it does not prepare the worker either. Workers and company realize that this is a different situation where the company is trying to write a new type of contract. What is the basis for this attempt at a new contract and what is different? It seems to us that the developments of the means of production is carrying its effect on the contractual relations and what the companies now feel that they need written into the contract. In the past four years automation has grown to an extent that the increase in production is so great that it speeds up production in the "automated" and non-automated" departments and forces everybody to work faster.

In steel mills they have adopted a whole system for cutting the workers' production. This is not something the companies plan to do now, this is something they have been doing all along to companies who won't sign a contract that will guarantee that the increase of work necessitated by the new development of the means of production in the steel industry will be written into the law of the steel mills. So there is no turning back. They are forced to take this position. That is why it is going to be a very serious struggle - different from the previous ones.

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In the Oak Grove Mills, hundreds of thousands used to roll steel plates. These mills were replaced by new rolling mills. These roll single sheets of steel with only a handful of production and maintenance workers. Companies have been able to abolish a whole department with hundreds of workers whose job it was to inspect the rolled plate. No longer held up by the human element, the steel comes through much faster and forces the rest of the workers to work more and faster right down the line. Here again automation lays off workers in one department but speeds up and gets more production out of others.

While many of the workers do not know what the issues are, they know certain things that they want. They do want a shorter work week. They themselves feel that the shorter work week is needed and they feel that the union won't fight for it. One of the big tasks today is to bring forward a program of demands and arouse the men. The union sent its leadership around to the meetings to arouse the men. "The union's leadership by itself hasn't got the strength, courage or background to" It is necessary especially for the Party to help. What we need is a program to meet the challenge of automation. There should be work rules to defend the worker and the job.

Some 25 to 30 per cent of the steel workers in Gary and probably in the rest of the country are negroes and they have been hurt most by the speed up policies of the companies. We can appeal to the negro not only on a class basis but on a national basis.

As far as the Party is concerned we have the job of joining forces with the union to help guarantee a real organization of the people.

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Remarks of SAM KUSHNER

From yesterday's discussion it was clear that there is a greater amount of rank and file participation especially in Buffalo, Gary and the Ohio Valley and Cleveland than there is in the South Chicago area, which has, for the past fifteen years, been considered one of the more backward areas. In a real sense, the locals there are demonstrative locals - at least they were. The strike is conducted on that basis. For example, in the South Chicago mill a big US steel mill - there, out of more than ten thousand strikers, it is estimated by our Comrades that no more than two hundred people are actively participating in the strike thus far. This is outside of the first night demonstration when 1400 people walked to the gate to shut the joint down. Although the strike is ten days old, there are a number of gates that are padlocked and have a sign but there are no pickets. This is a conscious agreement between the Local 65 leadership and the company. The agreement is that these gates will remain locked. "Don't worry about it, keep your pickets in the trailers and the poker game is much more interesting than spending your time on the line". I should agree but it is not the class struggle, it is not the strike. As a result of the unpreparedness of the local leadership in this situation, there was not a struggle within local Executive Board who thought that there would be a strike 24 hours before the strike began. This was not necessarily the sentiment of the worker in the shop but this was the view of the local leadership. They thought it would be postponed. Therein lies the problem.

The very nature of the strike has not impressed itself on the secondary leadership in this area. Even in the limited number of pickets, the negro workers are playing the dominant role. The leadership is white. Thirty to forty per cent of the membership is negro but the pickets lines are seventy

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per cent and up, made up of negroes. The union leadership has made only routine preparations for relief. Now I think we should have no illusions and our Comrades in steel have none that the community service program and the relief in the counties will fill the needs of the workers after the second week of the strike.

Our Comrades in steel are urging that the Party in Illinois begin the collection of food to aid particularly Spanish speaking and negro workers who will be in need very soon.

During the first six months the Midland Steel Company increased its profit over last year by about 110 per cent, while increasing its sales by only 27 per cent. Some of the smaller companies increased their profits by 1000 per cent over last year, while increasing sales by only small fractions. Some Comrades have worried about the fact that the steel strike has become extravagant. I think that I would be concerned that the steel workers are not only on the defensive but are not willingly on the defensive. Steel corporations are working on the 8 point program to change every bit of the mills. Now everybody knows about Section 2B which will eliminate all the past agreements of past records. There are some things that remain dangerous, for example, where you have steel corporations who have the right to summarily discharge anyone for making a wildcat strike. The companies are mad because the workers are taking the legal route to fight this. In South Chicago there are thousands of people going in and out of the US steel plant - supervisory help. The supervisory help are attending classes and the foremen have informed their workers who are still working in South Chicago that the main subject in the classes is how to cut throats when the strike is over, regardless of what the settlement is.

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No matter how it ends, the foremen must inform the steel workers that the steel mills will be different when the strike is over. The companies will have to go back and carry on the offensive in the mill against the steel workers, regardless of what they are forced to settle for in negotiations.

Our first Party leaflet in the Illinois district is out today. I hope to have copies before the NEC is over. The leaflet is address to the community as a whole and is entitled, "Your Special Steel Strike". We feel that it is necessary to begin to win public opinion. We feel that we must address our attention primarily to the steel workers for carrying on all the strike activity which will bring the issue more clearly to the worker. We feel that it is of most importance that the steel strike has a danger sign to the railroad workers, the packing house workers and others in our city who, like the steel workers, have to get $18\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

The situation at this moment in South Chicago is not a good one. I think that more steel workers appreciate the problems today than they did a week ago and that there is the potential of mushrooming sentiment for the strike, thus making an important contribution.

Remarks of individual believed to be GEORGE MEYERS

I would just like to say that I believe the three previous speakers covered the situation well, for what is happening in this present steel strike and the same thing goes as much as the Baltimore area is concerned. There are 50,000 workers on strike, one-half of whom are negro. I want to underline one thing, and that is the question of the need and the ability to strengthen and build negro - white unity in this kind of a situation. It is absolutely imperative to the winning of the strike, and the prevention of a serious deficit.

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I would like to inform the NC of a couple of things that happened in Baltimore to show the intensity of the tense situation as far as the strike is concerned. As previous speakers have said, most people are expecting a long drawn out strike. Many people think that that is the way in which the company is going to conduct itself, but I think we are going to find that it goes a lot beyond that. There are a number of ads in the paper, there is one example. As soon as the strike started in Baltimore, there were those who attacked the white leaders of the unions as being "negro lovers". We know that this was not just an accident, that 17 men would get together to conduct this kind of a campaign. In addition to that, there have been five different instances where white union leaders on a lower echelon have been in fist fights. All kinds of charges are being made against negro workers' opposition to the use of union funds for relief, etc. I would like to remind the NC that in 1943 there was promoted in the shipyards of Baltimore, organization against negroes and Jews. They were beaten violently and many workers had to be taken off the jobs when hit by tools, nuts and bolts and every other thing. This is the same company where it was necessary to threaten the use of the Coast Guard. It's using the same tactics today and we can expect more of it. I have pointed ^{out} this fight in order to build negro - white unity.

Remarks of individual believed to be

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There are 25,000 steel workers on strike in Buffalo. These workers also have become confused about the main issues of the strike. No two workers told me the same thing. Most of them were in favor of the strike because they didn't see any alternative. Although it was indicated to them that there would be a short work week they indicated that they didn't care much

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about it. It was not an issue that impressed them. Why do the workers feel this way? They have gone through plenty over the years since the last contract. A lot of work has been eliminated from their jobs and speed up is terrific. To them the question of job security is one of the main issues.

The workers do not clearly know what is involved because the leadership has not gone out of its way to mobilize them and to indicate to them what the main issues of the strike are. The main thing that the union has done is to talk to the press and to see that MC DONALD's picture is in it, and to promote propaganda on inflation. Now in our area, we put up a pretty good campaign to get the "JOHNNYS" back in the steel mill. We have been getting out material before the steel plants for the last four months. I have just now started to do pieces of material at work. They take it; they read it, they put it in their pockets and they want to read tomorrow what we have to say. Last Friday they were picked up by cops. The workers milled around the car and they took us to headquarters for about fifteen or twenty minutes. Throughout this time I continued to give out material and the workers took it and read it. In addition, we are using "The Worker" in the communities and we have been showing a continuing increase in its sale.

From building this mass propaganda and also from working with steel workers in the communities we are getting the workers to discuss all of the various questions as a last proposal. I think that the Party leadership should assist in building Party vigilance among the steel workers.

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Remarks of IRVING POTASH

Comrades, there is evidence that the mass of steel workers today are in a fighting mood. What is going to happen later, if the present confusion exists, is another matter. We should not underestimate the situation. You will recall that at the NC, last April, we brought out the fact that the government is playing a direct role in the steel strike. We indicated in that report that the leaders in the rest of the labor movement were showing evidence of being aware of that kind of situation and have not taken any action in accordance with their positions.

Some of us think that we must follow the same old pattern that we conducted after the war and it was the same old acts that both sides were betting on. Because of such views and because of a lackadaisical business and usual attitude, the Party did not follow and seriously recognize this situation last April and did not really act on the proposals that were made at that time. The objectives are to stop wage increases everywhere throughout the country and to whittle down the power of unions. We have anti-labor legislation designed to roll back the union gains. The objective is to weaken the political potential of the trade union movement before they can kick.

Will President EISENHOWER invoke the Taft - Hartley Law? I am not a prophet and it depends on the factors I enumerated before. One thing however, is certain and that is we must do everything in our power today to arouse the entire labor movement to that danger and to the need of action now, to prevent the use of the Taft - Hartley Act. The potential

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forces exist for the defeat of the steel corporations and big business generally in the offensive but with potential power is still to be set in motion. This is the main task today for the trade union movement and our Party must exert every effort and expend the utmost initiative and resourcefulness to help accomplish this task.

In my opinion, Comrades, the Party should do everything in our power to help make clear the plans of big business with relation to the labor movement. We should point out that EISENHOWER is taking action in the steel situation. He is not only taking action but he is being very active. We should show that he is doing everything he can, under the circumstances, to help the steel corporations. Everything should be done to expose the so called five year old fact finding role of Secretary MITCHELL. Everything should be done to stimulate a nation wide rise for solidarity and support. Move for greater unity must be made between negro and white workers. We should urge, in every way possible, that the steel unions approach the unions that are next in line, railroad, rubber and other unions, in order to bring about a greater unity for solidarity at this time.

We must also signalize the need for immediate action to build up a relief fund. At this time there is not yet a general demand upon the workers or a need for relief, but such a ^{fund} must be built up now and not wait until there is a time for actual need.

Our Party must also criticize the weaknesses and mistakes being committed by union leaders. There have been instances where union leaders have played into the hands of EISENHOWER and the steel corporations. We must check every club and establish

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a system immediately of assigning certain tasks with regard to the development of the solidarity movement. At club meetings the role of the individual Party member should be reviewed to determine what he is doing and what are his accomplishments. "The Worker" will have to serve in a greater role at this time. Every effort must be made in getting our finances in order, that "The Worker" can be sent to people in the vital steel areas. There should be coordination between "The Worker" and the national minority press.

The Party should issue a statement immediately on the steel situation along the lines we indicated. I also propose that at the end of this meeting a press release be issued on the action of this NC with regard to the steel strike. We should stimulate action on the part of liberals, intellectuals, professionals, churches, organizational citizens committees, etc., and should stimulate among the steel unions and the labor movement in general, political steps to get action.

At this time the Party has an extraordinary opportunity to come forward and move constructively in the labor movement. It is an opportunity to advance the interests of the steel workers and the labor movement generally.

Comrades, this is not an informational report that is just to be filed away or forgotten. I propose that the NC should act on these proposals at this meeting.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS thought that there should be brought forth at this time in a very "crystal form", the idea of a negro labor commission similar to the Jewish labor commission to fight for the equality of the negro worker in the trade unions. DAVIS alluded to the statement previously made that the negroes are in the forefront of the picketing in the steel strike and said that an attempt should be made to put the real emphasis on the negro question.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER cautioned that the Party program on the steel strike must be implemented in such a way as not to encounter a rebuff from the unions. He suggested that the report of IRVING POTASH be referred to the resident NEC for editing in order to prevent such a rebuff.

A motion was passed that POTASH's report be adopted and referred to the NEC for editing.

Remarks of HY LUMER

Comrade GENE is very ill. We urged him to go home. I am not prepared to make the introduction that GENE would probably have made. (LUMER was delegated to present the draft resolution which was originally presented by GENE DENNIS). I would like to present the resolution with the following remarks. What you have before you is the draft of the resolution prepared by a draft committee which was headed by GENE DENNIS. The draft, as you see, was handed to the NEC and was prepared this way because there was insufficient time for it to be edited. It is not presented as an omnibus resolution like the last convention, but rather it is a resolution to present the main political lines of the Party. The NEC adopted the following motion which we wish to present to the NC. The NEC approves and submits to the NC for discussion and consideration.

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It endorses the policy of organizing in united working class action and it agrees with the approach outlined and emphasis placed on the sections relating to the working class and the resolution to build and strengthen our Party. At the same time the NEC believes that the draft resolution needs to be considerably improved in form and style. In addition, the NEC proposes that the national significance and the vital role of the powerful negro labor movement should have been placed more sharply in the resolution. It believes that there is a necessity of developing further, certain aspects in the struggle for peace. The NEC is also of the opinion that there is a necessity to indicate more concretely in the resolution the negative and positive of the Party's work in the past period.

First a word or two on some aspects of the motion. In particular, the sentiment was expressed in the NEC meeting that the resolution needs considerable rewriting, that as it now stands, it is in heavy, uninspired language and does not have the kind of ringing appeal it should have. It is proposed, therefore, that such a job of clarity should be done. Now on the question of peace, I want to add to what was in the motion, that the NEC also adopted a proposed amendment by Comrade BURT NELSON. I don't have it here, but it stated that the resolution presents in a much more positive form the potentialities that exist for the future and to place the struggle for peace in relation to these political potentialities. The NEC agreed in general, that criticism and self criticism of the Party's work should be dealt with at some length in a separate resolution which is being prepared on Party organization. So, with these few words Comrades, we present the resolution with the proposals and amendments and changes in it. We propose that a sub-committee be set up for the drafting of the resolution, preparation of it for publication and it be regarded as a draft resolution for pre-convention discussion.

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Following LUMER's presentation of the draft Resolution there was considerable discussion and objections were made to the effect that the DENNIS Resolution dated July 6, 1959, had not been mailed to NC members. One of those in attendance described this as an example of Bureaucracy in the Party.

HY LUMER then read a letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER regarding the draft Resolution.

FOSTER, in his letter, indicated that he felt that it was an improvement over the 16th Convention but that the war danger should be more clearly defined and the responsibility of the war danger should be pinned on the EISENHOWER administration by name. In his letter, FOSTER said that DENNIS handled the war danger as if it were merely a spontaneous evil instead of a prepared plan of the monopolists.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

Comrades, I participated in the NEC on Wednesday and Thursday. The NC can make up its own mind on how important this Resolution is. However, this Resolution could be improved and strengthened. Speaking of the question involving the "main line", I can say that I was influenced by the "Negro Resolution." However, I do believe that the main objective of the Resolution is correct and I believe the "main line" is correct when it insists that the Party can no longer have self-determination. While the Negro question does point in the right direction, it does nothing to "move" the Party. This Resolution has very many undeveloped areas. However, I also feel that all the fault lies in not having a generally correct direction in the Resolution.

We must have a Resolution that "moves." The Resolution of the Party talks of the Party line and I generally agree with this line. We must remember that we have a definite relationship between our Party and Soviet Russia. We must show decay and decadence with

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this society. We people are suffering in this present society. This Resolution is not as down-to-earth as it should be. For example, several articles have appeared in the "Amsterdam News" showing where little children have been bitten by rats. Now this is a fabulous occurrence in this wealthy country. It is amazing that American people know less than Soviet people. We must, therefore, attempt to find answers to these problems. These questions must be answered. We must find ways to present them. Peace is the most important objective.

Remarks of STEVE NELSON

This Resolution does not offer a way out of our problems. It appears that this Resolution could have been written before the last Convention. The first section fails to face questions we should deal with on the matter of arms and the atomic race. We should deal with what is going to aid the world. Also, this Resolution does not discuss the proper evaluation of this movement.

I think that we should also consider a discussion of the labor movement. In the section of the Resolution pertaining to the anti-monopoly coalition, I want to know exactly what this means. The term "anti-monopoly coalition" should be fully explained. We must get concrete answers on this question or we will be isolated. Marxism cannot be transplanted as someone trying today. The last section of the Resolution regarding the Convention and the errors of the last Convention should be discussed. It must be remembered that these things have not been solved because certain people who attended the last Convention are no longer in the Party. Labor, farmers and Negroes are faced with a new experience. Capitalism is willing to go to all lengths to exploit the people of this and other countries. They are militarizing the country and they are reaching out over the world. They will even go to war to insure record profits.

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Labor, in 1959, is fighting for its very life. Labor, Negroes and farmers must merge for future peace and insurance of domestic needs. We must build on the strength of the 16th Convention and not dwell entirely upon the weaknesses of it. We must remember that criticism that does not build and strengthen is not constructive.

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Remarks of

I have not read the Resolution; however, we must soberly look at things. The Party goes from one extreme to the other. One thing I do think is that the Party should study dialectics. We should pay more attention to dialectics in our opinions and discussions. Questions of superficiality and of self-criticism should be dealt with especially if we are to have a mass movement. We must look into our methods of thinking and reasoning.

I have been in the Party quite a few years and believe I know from past experience that some of us need a line of thinking which others can use if we are to have a future rebuilding of our Party. So many of us need training in the dialectic reasoning. Many of our Party members must be able to meet and solve problems in a Marxist-Leninist manner.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

We must remember that we are a Party based on Marxist-Leninist theory and are concerned with our relationship with other Communist Parties. I feel that from this Convention a much better resolution will be evolved just as from the last Convention better Resolutions evolved. Many important motions were made at the NEC from both BURT NELSON and comrade DAVE.

Our Party has weathered many hardships. We must remember that our Party has suffered tremendous losses. Our membership is the lowest it has been in history. We

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must concentrate on basic questions. Our Party is a Party of action and struggle no matter how small and none of us are doing nothing. We must be prepared for socialism. There is a lot of lack of faith in the Party and the Party must reunite itself.

Remarks of PETTIS PERRY

PERRY said that he would confine his talk to section three of the Resolution, that being the section starting on page six. He said that he thought it was necessary that this section deal with the scope of the anti-MC CARTHY movement and its effect on the whole fight for civil liberties. PERRY continued that he felt the Resolution should contain a far more rounded treatment in the defense of the Party. He pointed out that there are two comrades still in prison and "another political comrade-Claude Lightfoot" facing five years with all the consequences that this would mean to "our Party."

PERRY mentioned that no one could tell what the outcome would be with reference to the Mc Carren Act or the Communist Control Act. He felt that this was not pointed out sharply and that it should be made clear that the defense of the Party is imperative. Without specifying a particular section but apparently referring to section two, PERRY commented that he thought the section "is far inadequate" and will only disarm the Party and place it into a state of complacency insofar as its defense is concerned generally.

PERRY said "I think in the past we tended too much to sought of minimize these attacks on our Party and the Party looked upon it as being incidental to the struggle on the part of the reactionaries against civil liberties." He asked that this section be entirely re-written and strengthened with a call to battle of "our membership", and progressive forces and for the defense of civil liberties including the defense of "our Party."

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Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

Comrades, I am going to be different on this thing. I read this report and to tell you the truth, comrades, I was exhilarated, but not particularly by all the phrases throughout the report. The approach to the working class that is in there in and out of the entire document is what exhilarated me because I was convinced on the basis of that that we were going to be able to go further again with the Party and that is in there, comrades, in there, all the way through it. It has not always been thus in the Party. I am certain that here we assert ourselves as a vanguard to play a vanguard role as the leaders of the working class in this country. That is a big assertion, and I think on the basis of that, you know, on the point JACK made, "the correct line will correct a lot of things."

I think we have made great strides in overcoming our isolation. Whenever our leaflets go into the mills among the workers they say "this is pretty good stuff."

We are on the right path. We have a long way to go but we do not have to be a long time getting there.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

This Resolution pretty well reflects where we are today. It shows how far we have been able to get and what some of our problems remain to be if we are to advance our Party organization. Now it is true it was difficult to get this discussion started. Many comrades felt uninspired and without the necessary enthusiastic stimulus being provided by the Resolution. What I think what is more important than that that when the comrades did speak and there has developed a request to speak there has been presented no "counterline" to this Resolution.

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Now I would add as I have in writing when I had the opportunity to see the draft in advance, a number of suggestions that are very important to the Resolution. I am sure other comrades will avail themselves of the opportunity before the final draft is prepared by the subcommittee assigned to that job to write additional proposals for changes.

If we had some basic diversion on the question of the fundamental line of our Party it would certainly have come up by now in this discussion. All seem to be in pretty close agreement on the general objectives represented by this draft and the only suggestions have been for an improvement or strengthening of some sections. Although the opportunity has been here for the past few hours, there has been no presentation of a contrary line to the line which this draft represents. I think that is extremely important for us because we are going to be representatives in the eyes of the membership for any draft that is presented for pre-Convention discussion.

Perhaps in the ranks of the membership, there may be a flood of criticism and more aggravated expressions of the inadequacies of the draft. I think we should be prepared to stand before the Party members as a united NC and say "Comrades, we want all this criticism, we want all these suggestions, we want an improved Resolution before the Convention ..."

We believe you have a sound general political direction as indicated here and we want to help to convince the Party membership of all the improvements and strengthening that can be made and should be made with the view of making this general line still more effective. Now one other thing I would like to say about this draft with all its weaknesses and inadequacies, let us remember that it is a mirror not only of our own internal Party situation as it is but also a mirror of how far we have gone or how short a distance we have gone since the 16th Convention in strengthening our Party in the labor movement, in democratic political forces and other mass movements.

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This is a mirror for us. Now, of course, if we do not want a mirror, if we just want a proclamation of noble intentions, we could write that too. We could get many members of the NC to lock themselves up for the rest of the hours in a room and produce a ringing glorious song. We need something to create a feeling in the ranks of the Party that we have moved forward since the 16th Convention unifying ourselves and understanding where we are at and understanding where we are trying to get.

If we approach the draft Resolution on the point of view that it shows the situation in the Party today, then I think we will not be making idle demands but will feel that we have a firmer foundation from which to make further progress in the coming Convention. We will appreciate the fact that actually this is to be a working instrument for the Convention. This is a working instrument to come out of the 17th Convention in better shape than we came out of the 16th.

I would urge very strongly that we seek the way to present a draft Resolution that no one says is perfect but which is the best we can produce in the present stage in the advance of our Party.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

The Resolution paragraph on page 17 on the section dealing with internal Party problems remain largely unsolved, therefore, the chief task before the Party is still to overcome its isolation in the labor movement. I think this placing of this as the major task facing the Party is correct and I think it is important to place same in the Resolution and it's true to say that this was also placed as the chief task before the 16th Convention.

The Resolution does not aptly analyse the developments in our country. As CARL has stated, the reason this Resolution does not do that is because our Party today is not in the position to do this adequately and this is the reality of the situation.

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During BEN's discussion I was reminded of a previous NC meeting we had where we had a report by the New York comrades on the result of the New York election. I was asked questions when I returned home after attending the meeting and hearing the report. I was asked about the New York elections and I could not answer the questions. I could not because the report of New York elections to this body also did not answer the questions and I can only assume that the reason for this was because the New York District was not in a position to give an analysis of what happened in that election that would have made any sense in terms of being able to explain why you had certain mass developments in some sections of the country and what seemed to be a contradictory development here in New York. I was reminded of this, because I think the problems posed by this Resolution and opposed by some of the discussion here placed on the districts very important responsibilities in terms of helping to shape up the final Resolution. I think we have to be real realistic about where we stand in the Party today. We have to understand how we are going to begin to tackle this question in a serious way in the pre-Convention discussion and if we do that we can make a very important contribution to help move our Party forward and help strengthen the unity of the Party. I think we are beginning to have experiences here and there that are going to make it possible to make that kind of a contribution.

Take some of the recent developments in the whole field of the fight for civil rights as it is being developed in certain parts of the country. There are renewed attacks being made against the Party, against the labor movement and against the bill of rights of our country. Reactions are developing in various parts of the country against us. This whole countermovement is on an entirely new level and it is of new components that were never present in the fight for civil rights in this country. It ties in the crisis in education and the developing peace movement. In other words, these issues are beginning to emerge in new ways. New connections are developing and I know in some parts

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of this country - the comrades in Southern California, for example, and from what I heard from Illinois, Ohio and other districts, it is having some very rich experiences in terms of what is developing here. This is true in some of the developments in the labor movement. I know the developments are not uniform, they are scattered and they are not unified in the sense that all of our Party is having equal experience. If our Party can begin to utilize and draw up the experiences that are beginning to develop, we can begin to put some flesh on the framework of our coalition policy and of the anti-monopoly coalition and begin to spell out in fundamental detail the role of our Party as it relates to the mass developments that are shaping up in our country today.

I just want to say in conclusion a word of caution that we do not simply treat ourselves in a way that is going to be a negative approach. We must face up to the realities as to where our Party actually stands today.

Remarks of WILLIAM PATTERSON

Comrades, as the other comrades have said, in my opinion, the Resolution contains both in its positive and negative aspects, a line which is possible to rally an anti-monopoly front and to gain the support of the Negro forces which we have lost. I think our Resolution begins extremely negatively. I think there was something of this in the remark HY LUMER made when he spoke about the negative approach. To tell the American people that they face profound threats to their livelihoods, civil liberties and above all, their right to live, is correct, but since the 16th Convention of our Party, there have been fundamental changes. There have been changes in the East which, while they do not remove the danger of war, offer tremendous possibilities for the realization of fundamental peace.

I think our Resolution has to begin with the American people having to face the possibility of securing a lasting peace and of realizing for the first time in the history of our country, full equality for the Negro people.

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In the section dealing with the political and economic situation of our country, mention is made of the main features of the situation in the United States as being the instability of the economy, the burden imposed by the cold war, the intensive drive of big business for super profit, the more militant mood and the rising struggle of the people and the newest offensive of reaction. I think we put the negative first, rather than the positive and I do not think you will rally the masses to struggle to go forward and place before them in the initial stages the negative aspects. The main features of the present situation in the United States on the part of labor at the present time and the Negro people is a tremendous struggle.

The legislative and executive branches of the government are moving away from constitutional form of government wherever possible under the guise of local action to destroy the whole value of constitutional government of the United States. I think that this has to be placed in a Resolution of this kind.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

Supporting the Resolution as I do, does not mean that I believe everything that is in it. I think the Resolution is a tremendous success although some things do not stand out as I think they should. I think that it is the agreement in the NEC that there be a preamble in the beginning of the Resolution, that somehow pulls the thing together. It seems to me that the Resolution needs to serve to strengthen the troubles that are now taking place during the period of the discussion of this Resolution, the struggles of the working class and the mass movements of the people. It has to serve that immediate purpose. It is not just the Resolution or the discussion around it which serves the purpose of saying at the Convention you must perfect something.

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That may be the process, but it must somehow help affect the lives of the country now. That is a hard thing to do but I think it has the elements in it to do that. It also has to help to strengthen our Party relationship to those problems. Beyond that, the Resolution itself should help to solve our problems in the right places. It should serve also to strengthen our Party.

It seems to me that the approach to the discussion, therefore, of the Resolution and how to improve it should be directed somewhere along that line. In this sense, I welcome comrade FOSTER's letter. I think that not only in calling for certain sharpening for certain intangibles, it has certain points. You know that some of us can start to sharpen in such a way that you can take a blunt steel instrument and make a sharp steel spike and may be able to nail something down with it, or you can sharpen it even more and make a knife and use it for serious cutting or you can sharpen it some more and make a needle or you can sharpen it some more and make it disappear. (laughter). So in the process of sharpening you destroy some very sound advice on sharpening so I think that this is the sense of the letter from comrade FOSTER. Partly, I think to that discussion in the Resolution, we do not always have to make a case and establish a bond. We are not like lawyers in a court room who are trying to pass something by massing the evidence on their side to the elimination of necessary items which only really prove their point.

We are being called upon as Communists it seems to me in our communities and mass organizations and unions to contribute something new in the struggle for peace. The theme then "what is the role of the working class and what is the role of our Party." Now we do not have to draft a Resolution but a Resolution opens up the possibility of doing our duty.

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We need a great deal of original thinking. The same applies to the struggle that we have in front of us right now, that is, how to defeat this anti-labor legislation in Congress. The key bill that has to be defeated, considering all other bills and all other things on the immediate agenda in the United States Congress, is the anti-labor bill.

Remarks of LOUIS WEINSTOCK

WEINSTOCK commented that the Resolution was so long that after awhile he forgot what he was reading. He said that he fully appreciated the fact that the Resolution is being discussed as a beginning and that this is not the final document.

According to WEINSTOCK, in looking over the Resolution, he did not get the feeling that the comrades are beginning to get something and that reading such a Resolution at a meeting would probably provoke considerable discussion. WEINSTOCK was particularly critical of the economic section of the Resolution, noting that there are millions of people earning less than \$2,000.00 a year, millions of people living in slums, hundreds of thousands of people living in houses infested with rats, and that these things must be said if you want to build a Party in the future. He commented that he felt that the economic section of the Resolution should be such that "we can take something out of this Resolution and take it to the shop and say to the worker that the Party is prepared for the Convention...." WEINSTOCK felt that the language of the Resolution could be simplified in order to make it more attractive to the membership. He pointed out that this Resolution would not only be discussed with people in the Party, but also with people who dropped out of the Party and "whom we want to bring back into the Party."

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Second Day's Session
July 26, 1959

WILLIAM ALBERTSON was selected as Chairman of the Second Day's Session and he identified five speakers on the draft political Resolution.

CONSTANTINE RADZIE was the first speaker. RADZIE made no specific comment on the draft Resolution, but expressed the hope that the 17th Convention would bring about the return of democratic centralism.

Remarks of EMANUEL BLUM

Comrades, I agree with those many comrades who criticized the style of writing of this Resolution. It has many difficult words, not just French words. The average worker will have trouble. We want people to hear what we have to say. We need a message and not a document. Naturally, nobody has presented a counter Resolution because this document does tell us what the real situation in the world is today, what the plans of the bosses of the monopolists are, what the role of the government is and what the working class and its allies do to keep back the plans of the big banks and corporations. It tells us that these forces are still plotting war, and still resisting the cause of peaceful co-existence. It tells us that American capitalism is still headed for crisis and greater and greater exploitation of production of the common people.

It also gives the prospective of the workers and their allies - a prospective of class and peoples' struggle in the forging of a democratic plan to resist all this, including a prospectus for the 1960 elections in line with all of this and as someone said, the program of the Party is to develop further prospective of a confident

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anti-monopoly program and charts further the next stage in the transition to socialism. I cannot agree as one comrade put it here that our main task is to popularize a program for a "co-existent world." That, it seems to me, would take up a position of converting our Party into a sort of educational society whose main prospective would be the propagation of such a program of a co-existent world. Well we have a prospective of a class struggle, of peoples struggle for peaceful co-existence. Now this general line as I say is a correct one. There is nothing wrong with it in this general sense, but a lot depends on the details of the main line. A railroad can go in the correct direction but if some of the rails are missing or if some of the tracks are twisted, there may be some unfortunate difficulties on the road. I think that this is what we are trying to word in this discussion.

I think that the criticism by comrade FOSTER and by comrade STEVE NELSON are correct and the main line needs a correction.

I would like to say in conclusion to use a figure of speech, that which one comrade used, that the mirror is like the vanguard and the mirror is large enough, it needs considerable readjustment, and needs much wiping and polishing to make matters look correct. Our Communist mirror, of course, is pretty dim. Our Communist mirror has to reflect double what the situation is and also what it is going to be. I think our discussion, if incorporated in the Resolution, will do a great deal of help.

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Remarks of GUS HALL

The problem of rebuilding the Party is the process of remolding and re-evaluating the Party. This Resolution, in a general way, reflects this process of remolding, and reflects the stage we are in during the process of the present day conflict. I think this draft Resolution reflects the general tone and thinking of the Party leadership during the present time. I also think that we should note the fact that we can have that type of discussion which we have had here yesterday and today reflecting that we have made big steps from past periods in our Party. I think we should note and hail it as a real achievement for the Party that we have moved into this discussion. I think, however, that the Resolution can be improved and what resolution can't be. That's true of every resolution. I think it needs improvement in style and form. Generally, I want to say that my criticism of this Resolution would go on one central fact and that is the weakness flows from the method of work and the method of writing this Resolution.

I think that a resolution such as this should follow a very deep and basic discussion of a number of very fundamental questions, first by the National Executive Committee for the top leaders of the Party. The resolution should be written after such a basic discussion. Then I think it would have depth on a number of very fundamental questions, certainly more depth than it has now. I don't think this is a criticism of individuals' efforts, but of the method that is used. I think that weakness of the method is also evident at this meeting of the National Committee. I think we must honestly and self-critically state that we are not getting the best out of this meeting. I think a meeting like this should have been prepared differently. We have foreseen it so that the comrades would have had a chance to think about these problems, read the Resolution, study it, absorb it, and then we could have drawn the best out of a collective

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body of this size. I think we are having a good discussion, but it has the character of superficiality about it which will not profit anybody. I think frankly we must not repeat the way we are discusssing this Resolution at this National Committee meeting.

Well now as to the Resolution, I think the weakness of the Resolution is that it does not breathe life. I think it has too much of the character of a 1959 fall catalog of events and problems. It lists all these problems and catalogs there, but that isn't quite enough. Let me give some examples of what type of problem we could go into deeper if we had a better approach to it. Let's take the general question of "our America in the present day world." I think we must ask ourselves "is there something new our Party must reflect in the sense of America's position in the world scene". Well I think there is.

HALL concluded his speech by suggesting that the Resolution be rewritten after further discussion.

Remarks of [redacted]

[redacted] said that he believed that the style and form of the Resolution is not quite adequate and he agreed with those comrades who had spoken critically of it. He said that he felt that the Resolution was intended not only for the leadership of the Party, but for workers after the convention, and that the style should therefore be different. [redacted] also noted that the Resolution does not include methods for organizing foreign born workers. He felt that "The Worker" should be used to influence such people.

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Remarks of JESUS COLON

I read the Resolution through and I liked it. I am going to vote for it. This Resolution requires study together with our fine members in the County, sections and clubs. I believe and I say correctly, that this draft Resolution should have been given to the full membership of the (maximum?) Committee. I will go further and say that this draft Resolution should have been given not only to all the members of the Committee to be signed, but to at least 15 to 20 people who are expert in the matter of form and style.

Continuing his discussion, COLON said that the Socialist Party of Cuba is 100% with CASTRO and the revolution. He claimed that the Cuban Party is the party that is growing at a higher rate than any other party in the Americas. He said that they are spreading socialism to the people. In conclusion, COLON suggested that the Resolution be strengthened and deepened so that in the 17th Convention, the Party will do something on the question of a good program that will appeal to the people of the United States.

Remarks of HY LUMER

In acting on this Resolution, I think we need to bear in mind that what we are preparing here is a draft of a Resolution for discussion and not a final Resolution, for adoption. This is being submitted for free discussion. In my opinion, the draft, with suitable amendments editing, and necessary improvements in form and style, will meet this purpose. It will give us an adequate basis on which to develop the discussion. Of course, this does not say that the Resolution does not have its weaknesses. I think we should accept some criticism as to the handling and preparation. An effort should

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have been made to get a draft out somewhat earlier to give some chance for an early study of it. I think there is some merit in the criticism GUS made in the method of preparation. At the same time, we should recognize that the discussion which took place on the Resolution can be developed in such a way as to make up for some of the shortcomings, help for a deeper understanding of the questions involved, and help in the preparation of the first draft Resolution.

Although there have been differences expressed concerning this Resolution, the fact is that no contrary line has been proposed, and it seems to me that this indicates that this group provided us with a Resolution that can generally be agreed upon basically. I believe that our Party is going through a process of ideological strengthening, the discussion here shows this process. The convention should mark an important step in that direction, and I think the Resolution and discussion on it can contribute to that process.

The Resolution, it is true, needs considerable improvement in regard to its popular appeal. I think in making the various essential changes in the Resolution, we should keep in mind that this is a Resolution and not a mass agitational pamphlet or leaflet. I think we must also bear in mind when we make these changes, that this is a Resolution, and not a report. We cannot incorporate in a resolution all the details and analysis that would go into a report. With these things in mind, I think we have the basis for doing what is necessary and using the Resolution as a basis for what is later to be published.

I should like therefore to conclude by presenting again the motion for action. The motion

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which I read yesterday. If you want me to read it again, all right. (LUMER apparently now reading) The NEC approves the main line of the Draft Political Resolution for the 17th National Convention and submits it for discussion and consideration. It concurs in the general estimate of the international situation, and the political situation within the country. It endorses the policy and tactics projected for organizing the united working class action, and a broad documentation for peace, civil rights, and economic security, and to check and defeat the offensive of the reaction generally, and in the 1960 elections particularly. We agreed to the approach outline and the emphasis placed on stimulating and influencing decisive sections of the working class to come forward as an independent class force for the need of building and strengthening our Party, and enhancing its indispensable contributions. At the same time the NEC believes that the draft Resolution needs to be considerably improved in form and style. In addition, the NEC proposes that the national significance and vital role of the powerful Negro labor movement should be placed more sharply in the Resolution. We believe it necessary to develop further, certain aspects of the struggle for peace. The NEC is also of the opinion that either in the draft Resolution on party organization, or Section 5 or 6 of the Resolution, it is necessary to indicate more concretely, both the negative and the positive aspects of the Party's work. We present this motion to the National Committee for its action, and I would like to present as a second motion, that the NEC be authorized to set up a committee to edit and make necessary changes in the Resolution based on the discussion in the NEC, and the discussion which has taken place here.

Discussion of LUMER's Motion

Following LUMER's presentation of the aformention motion, there was considerable heated discussion

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during which some of those present indicated that the manner in which the motion was made left them uncertain as to exactly what they were voting for. An individual believed by the informant to be TOM DENNIS, said that he thought they were getting into a hassle about something that wasn't necessary. He pointed out that most of those present had only received the Resolution for the first time on the preceding day and hadn't had a chance to really study it. He noted, however, that it was only being adopted as a draft for discussion, and "we should have at least confidence and modesty in the membership and in ourselves and confidence in the membership to realize that there will be a number of important changes and improvements...." DENNIS urged that a vote be made in favor of the motions made by LUMER.

JACK STACHEL proposed that all mail submitted, as well as the letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, be considered. This was approved, however, the vote was not known to the informant.

EMANUEL BLUM proposed that the NC endorse the FOSTER letter and include the same in the main line of the Resolution. The vote was six in favor, 25 against and four abstentions.

Following a vote on BLUM's proposal, a vote was taken on the motions previously made by HY LUMER. The motions were approved, however, the informant was unable to ascertain the vote. LUMER indicated that a new draft could be expected, probably to appear in the September issue of "Political Affairs", but that mimeographed mail would be prepared earlier.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

I am not introducing the Resolution on the Negro question that was presented from the discussion

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which was held at the NEC, based on this Resolution. We were handicapped at the NEC in the discussion on this Resolution due to the absence of Comrade JIM JACKSON, who was not able to be present so the NEC found it very difficult to handle this matter in the absence of the comrade. The NEC did discuss the matter and made very substantial recommendations for changes in the present draft. I would like to point out that we have to make a number of determinations in respect to the results. The results should clarify the position of the Party in the ranks of the Party, in regard to policy and position on major political questions. Everything we produce should be such that we can give to the masses in order to make them see more clearly the role of our Party in respect to the struggles which are unfolding at the present. So our Resolution combines both aspects of this question. The Resolution on the Negro question which will be presented before this convention, already comes to us against the backdrop of a discussion which was held at the NEC on theoretical aspects of the Negro question. Thought was to combine both the theoretical and the practical tasks at the present moment in which struggles are being waged in the country for Negro rights. The NEC, in discussing this, brought forth the following points:

1. That the Resolution should contain an analysis of the Negro Liberation Movement today, as well as the current struggle. In reading the Resolution, you will undoubtedly find that there are elements of that in it, but it was the feeling of the NEC in the discussion that this was inadequately dealt with. It needs to be deepened, strengthened and sharpened.
2. The section on self-determination is too brief and needs further elaboration.

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3. The Resolution should deal more fully with the relationship of the Negro Movement with the struggle of the working class and let develop further the concept of the Negro Labor Alliance with certain new features emerging in this alliance between the Negro people and the labor movement. In this connection, it was also pointed out that our Party in this Resolution of the Negro question, should not only just speak to the Negro Liberation Movement, but should also speak to the labor movement in terms of its responsibilities, and further enhancing the Negro Labor Alliance.

4. The section on the Communist Party should be strengthened by an action of the contributions of the Party, for Negro freedom. It is felt that we should bring forward very clearly the role our Party is playing in the current struggle for Negro liberation.

The Resolution needs to deal more fully with the land question. The status of the dixiecrat is not placed sharply enough in the struggle today while absentee ownership on the part of Wall Street and the big corporations and the land plantations of the South, is emphasized, the role of the dixiecrat is slightly minimized and doesn't stand out in forceful terms. I also think that there should be a full discussion on the relationship of the Negro Freedom Movement to the new political realignments which are developing in this country. At the present time there is dissatisfaction with both the Democratic and Republican Parties as evidenced by a whole series of developments in a recent period, but there is no clear approach to the question of building a new political realignment in the country. It is this context that we proposed to place the question that there can be no substantial changes in the present status of Negroes without a basic political realignment. It is not

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"achievable" in the Democratic Party as it is constituted and certainly not in the Republican Party. That brings up the question of introducing this concept without necessarily calling for a new party today or tomorrow, but every step taken along certain lines will be leading toward that objective.

It was felt that the Resolution should deal more explicitly with the issue of the South and the significance for the entire action of establishing full democracy in the South. Another thing, we should give an answer to the question: Can the Negro people achieve full freedom under capitalism?

Comrades, most of these questions are dealt with in the present Resolution. Many felt that they were dealt with inadequately and some new questions were added which were not originally in the Resolution. Nonetheless it is my proposal, and I speak for myself because I think I speak the sentiment of the NEG, that we should not hold up the work of the National Committee and the preparations for the convention pending the report of Comrade JIM for what inadequacies there might be as a consequence of his absence today at this meeting. I want, therefore, to propose that this Resolution be adopted in a general term and be presented to the Party as a basis of discussion, together with the amendments along the lines that I have indicated here.

Remarks of AL RICHMOND

I want to make one brief point. I think the overall Resolution is very good, but the point I do want to develop because it hasn't been developed beyond this Resolution, reflects something we do too often in changing a course where we saw for the purpose

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of reference almost brings out the character. On the first page of the Resolution, there is this sentence, "The chief oppression of the Negro people and the sole beneficiary of their oppression, is the class of monopolists....capitalist commands the economic and political life of our structure". I understand what the comrade was trying to do - it is not the sole beneficiary. The plantation system has diminished in importance though there are a good many planters down South who I suspect are the beneficiaries of JIM CROW. As a matter of fact, a good many capitalists who benefit from the system and that's what helps perpetuate it. I think it is correct to put the working class first - God knows the sharecroppers are just as exploited, but more importantly is the class of the Negro working class at this time.

What the Resolution is trying to do, I wholeheartedly agree with, but I think these things should be correct.

Remarks of HOMER BATES CHASE

Comrades, I think that in regard to sharpening up the question of the main enemy of the Negro people, the question of the international exploitation of the Negro Liberation Movement, this document is substantially improved over the last one. I'd like to mention a couple of experiences we have had in the New England district in attempting to discuss the last Resolution we passed on the Negro question. Very frankly comrades, it was greeted with very little enthusiasm in ranks of our Party which has been decimated as a result of the 16th Convention. Our Negro membership is almost decimated, and we find the comrades do not accept all ^{the} mysterious doubts on the question of the Negro Liberation Movement. They are all around them a strong national trend in the fight for Negro rights. In developing nationalism in the Negro Boston colored town,

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they felt that this contradicts the draft Resolution. I think we should concede the question of our past evaluations. I think that when I was working in Georgia, that the Negro people were not a nation essentially. I did not feel then and I particularly do not feel now, the question of nationhood could be dismissed as lightly as it seems to be in your (Resolution?). What happened in the expansion of reconstruction was that the Negro peoples domain was also smashed. But with every rise in the Negro Liberation Movement, there are tendencies in the direction of a vaulting Negro nation. This should lead us to consider that the question of self-determination to the Negro people is a dead issue. For example, most of the Negro people have their homes in the South. Are we going to say that in future time, with the CP having a great deal more influence in the running of this country, that we won't establish legislation which will enable them to return to govern their homeland. I don't think we want to go that far. I don't think we want to dismiss this question so lightly.

Our Party has a big role to play and only a strong CP with a substantial Negro membership can play a leading role in this country.

Remarks of WILLIAM PATTERSON

It seems to me that one great value of the Resolution is that it answers the question that Comrade CHASE raises. There is a growing nationalism in the Negro Liberation Movement, but as the Resolution shows, it is an Americanism as well. It is the nationalism of an American who is in an oppressed, depressed, and exploited position. LIGHTFOOT in his opening remarks, brought forth the question of the right of self-determination. There is no contradiction in this nationalism of the Negro people, and adherence toward inclusion by phases of American life which is the essence of the Negro struggle at this

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moment. I think the remarks by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT can be further strengthened as we deal with this Resolution, but I think there are a couple of other points which must be stressed still further or going a little further which must be introduced into the Resolution.

Comrade CLAUDE rightfully said that our Party did not cease to continue to the development of the struggle of the Negro people in American life after the 1940's. This was true even when terror was raging against our Party. He mentioned points of contribution, and he holds that these contributions strengthen the international support.

There are two planes of struggle which appear at this time, a particular full struggle on the lower level in particular when its the South where you get no satisfaction. That struggle must be raised to a national plane. It must be raised from the standpoint of deprivation of constitutional rights for the incident in the locality constitutes a major acceptance, a violation of the constitutional rights of the Negro, and this has to be brought forth because the Federal Government has acquiesced to this from the very beginning. We have a new situation, comrades, in which the American Negro struggle can still further strengthen the liberation struggle of the colonial people of the Negro, and advance the infectious struggle of all peoples seeking freedom to a greater degree and a greater depth. That comrades is the approach to this question. The third plane is the United Nations because their position and their attitude toward the Negro people as a whole, and the individual victim of oppression is in violation of the charter of the United Nations. When it is brought in this way, comrades, it strengthens the

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position of Africans in the United Nations, and of other forces in the United Nations which are participating in the fight for peace and colonial liberation. The United Nations is dominated by American imperialism. As a matter of fact, to raise the question this way now, would strengthen all the Latin American struggle where there has been American imperialism heretofore. America has had a bloc on some 33 nations in the United Nations which voted as one. Now when we raise this question of the violation of its universal charter, a charter of the United Nations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we place before those who are in the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and a number of other Latin - American countries, a weapon with which they themselves can struggle and help split this bloc and threat upon civilization.

Now I come comrades to what tome has been for a long time, one of the most important features of the struggle for Negro rights in the Party. We argue and sometimes vulgarize - we cry that the Negro question is the Achilles Heel of American imperialism, but we don't ask them what is Achilles heel. The Achilles heel is the vulnerable spot and if this is a vulnerable spot where we can break or make a very big impact on American imperialism, then it is my opinion that we have got to bring it forward in a resolution in such a way that not only the Negro masses see and understand it, but those who also are losing by virtue of a continuation of racism in America.

I think comrades that you would have to start this Resolution differently just as criticism of the other Resolution went. The tremendous potential of this Resolution for the realization of not only a

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higher level of democracy in our country, but for beginning to end the attack upon constitutional government, the continuation of which is part of the peoples tradition, that we have got to show that this fight is the attack on constitutional forms of government.

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Remarks of [redacted]

I had a few questions - First on the question of Dixiecrats in our strategy on the whole concept of the Democratic Party. My feeling is that the main Flyer has to be directed at the Dixiecrats as regards to their strangle hold over the Negro people's movement and the role that they play in Congress. The most vulnerable part of the Democratic Party is the Dixiecrat and I think it is possible, in the area that I come from, Buffalo, to build up the movement in the community and through the progressive and democratic forces in the Democratic Party to go to the Democratic Convention of 1960 and build up a movement to oust the Dixiecrats. It would put on the spot a guy in an area like [redacted] who runs the Democratic Party - put him on the spot whether he likes it or not. He will be forced, if sufficient movement is built, to come forward to oust the Dixiecrats.

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I think that should be one of our main means or aims of focus. The second thing in regard to building Negro-white unity in the labor movement is that it has to be built on the class issues that affect both Negro and white workers. It is through the class issues that we can make it clear to the white workers how they can get away with dictating the contract in discriminating against Negro workers. So on the question of class issues within the labor unit, I think there is the starting point for building Negro-white unity but in addition to that, we have to start laying the phases that were of special use such as FEPC etc. My experience in the shop with the Negro workers is that the Negro workers are among the most advanced against which red baiting is effective. Negro workers are most receptive

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to Party literature.

I think it is their aim to bring our Party position to the workers. I think also that we could help build the Party in our area. There are questions that stand in the way. One is the question of the struggle against white chauvinism. In the course of this struggle against white chauvinism in the rights of the Party, both positive and negative things developed. Years ago we made a special effort to guarantee Negro-white unity. Today we don't have that kind of a special struggle. It shows we are sliding back. Secondly, another obstacle is the question of finding force of struggle within the Negro community. We must correctly emphasize getting into the main stream - the NAACP.

Because there is a vacuum in the left leadership, the Trotskyites have stepped into the vacuum and organized an alliance in doing such things as trying to get Grant's (department store?) to hire a Negro employee. This shows there is a void of left leadership within the Negro community.

The problem can't be solved through resolutions and statements. In the final analysis, it has to be done through struggles against people ~~rather than~~ just going to accept thought.

Remarks of

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I thought that the resolution which was adopted by the National Committee would be rewritten and that would be the basis of that resolution which we discussed today. I think that the other document had a little more fight in it than this one.

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At a Negro Commission Meeting in Los Angeles where comrade JACKSON was present the comrade said just about what is said here. Comrade JACKSON said that the Negroes are not greatly interested in your saying that the gain of the Negro is the gain of the white workers. I do not believe that white chauvinism is mentioned at all in his resolution. When I was called before the "Un-American Committee" they asked me about this white chauvinism that existed in my party and they quoted me something that had taken place at a district council meeting of ours. I had accused a couple of comrades of being chauvinistic. My answer was that "nothing could be as..... the white supremacy that exists in the South and all around us." So they said I was willing to talk about white supremacy in other places but not in the CP.

I feel that we have to put something in this document to mention that there is such a thing in the Party as white chauvinism.

Remarks of

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Comrades I agree with the general outline of the resolutions. I think that the resolutions placed before us the immediate perspective of work in the field of Negro rights, however, I also feel that the resolutions suffer to a certain extent. The resolutions should cover the level of the current struggle of the Negro people in the United States dealing especially with the struggle in the field of the education, integration school movement and the right to vote.

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I don't know whether we grasp the significance in the movement of education. I think it is part of the general struggle for enlightenment and the wiping out of illiteracy not only in the United States but throughout the world.

I think the resolutions move in the right direction as far as interpolation is concerned.

Remarks of Unknown Woman

I am a lothappier about the resolutions and I whole-heartedly support every one of them. However, I must take issue with comrade CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) in the matter of the Negro issue in the South. Every comrade should think to himself, what is my responsibility to the South? So what is to be included in the resolution. I would like to speak on the question of labor and what should be included in the resolution, the unity of Negro to white people and the evaluation of what is holding back this unity. I spoke to a worker in Henderson, North Carolina last Sunday and he indicated that a company where there is a strike in progress needed acts of violence in order that the National Guard would be maintained there. If the governor were responsible to a Negro electorate then the entire situation in Henderson would be a whole lot different.

I also want to agree with [redacted] on the question of white chauvinism in our Party. I think at the present time the Party for one thing is recognizing the errors that we have made and I think that these are the things that have caused those people who were Communists and have dropped out.

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Remarks of PETTIS PERRY

PERRY disagreed with the resolution in its entirety stating that he thought it was inadequate. He pointed out that chauvinism exists in labor today and it is the task of the CP to fight for the organization of a Negro labor alliance.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

The resolution is obviously insufficient and inadequate in view of the discussion by the comrades and in view of the discussion which we had in the NEC not only once but twice. Now in the proposal put forth by CLAUDE and the many discussions and contributions which have been made by the comrades in the discussions, there seems to be an adequate basis on which to draft this resolution in accordance with the general direction. Secondly, this resolution in my opinion reflects again the lack of adequate Thirdly, I must say that judging from the fact the National Committee did put out a resolution - the original one which was put out and decided upon by the National Committee the previous meeting - we should have at this committee meeting some sort of an idea of what was the thinking about the resolution. In that way, we would listen a little more closely to our comrades, many of whom agree on the general direction of the resolution but had many reservations about the argument of factual material and other questions which were raised in the main resolution.

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I can remember contributions by GUS (HALL) before he went to prison and by other white comrades in the Party on the Negro question but our white comrades must place this question very sharply because this question is a test of whether or not we have a fighting Party in America. The leaders of our Party, most of whom are white, must be bold enough to get up before the Party membership and give a report on the Negro question, because there will be no other way to dramatize the shift of the center of gravity to the responsibility of the labor movement and the development of the Negro-white alliance.

The question of being a Communist today is not just a question of having a certain line to fight for a certain goal, and a certain role, and a certain perspective of Socialism but the right of a person to be a dignified human being.

Remarks of

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Comrades I did not mean to prolong the meeting. I was one of the comrades who abstained before on the resolution. I read this. I haven't had time to prepare a digest because I read it last night but I just want to say I feel that we need a resolution because, like LOUIS WEINSTOCK yesterday, I am thinking about what this resolution will do. I feel that we need a resolution that is going to stimulate and get a real discussion in a positive way. I think that the comrades are going to start to read and they will get to page three and many of them are going to put it down because it won't do what we need to stimulate the fight and the struggle to bring back many of our members.

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The Federal Government is part of the society whose role it is to oppress the Negro people from the highest official, which is EISENHOWER, all the way down to the smallest little official in the smallest little town in the deep south. That is their role and aim and that is what they do. I think we have to say this so people can understand it. I think that their job and role is to keep the Negro masses in line because all these people profit by the oppression of the Negro people and there is no such thing as reality being the sole beneficiary of the oppression of the Negro people.

Although the Negroes have made some gains they have been small when compared with the gains of other people. Facts of this type should be included in the resolution.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

I think that the resolution coupled with the discussion of the NEC and the many fine contributions made by the comrades in this discussion as well as the discussion which we are going to have in the Party generally will give us a very fine resolution. I do not want to take the time here to respond to the many questions which were presented here in the discussion. I want to put a certain emphasis on an aspect of this pre-convention discussion both in regard to the main political resolution as well as this resolution. If our pre-occupation is going to be merely the question of producing a letter-perfect resolution, than it is my judgement that following the 17th Convention, we will not be too much better equipped than we are now. As one theologian to another, however, the good book says "What does it profit a man to gain the world and lose his soul" what will

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it profit our Party to write a letter-perfect document and then we go home self-satisfied. Our document must be a guide to action and our action must not be something that will wait until we have handed out the so-called perfect documents. In fact, the documents will be perfected much better to the extent that we proceed right now to cull out of those documents some of the key and vital propositions and begin to unfold mass work and activity.

I think that the 17th National Convention has to have some themes that underline everything that we do or say. This must be a convention that wrestles with the problem of how to break the Party's isolation from the main stream of the masses. That is the center of all dominating propositions. This convention in my judgement must be a convention that takes into mind that which exists as of now and see how we can proceed to where we want to go.

In regard to this resolution on the Negro question, channels are being opened up for us to work with that did not exist two years ago. I want to say that in Illinois, we have made some progress in the Negro community. Progress which I modestly feel will not only be beneficial to Illinois but will be beneficial to the country as a whole once the fulfillment of what we have been planning and working on comes to see the light of day. I agree 100 per cent with what BEN said about the role of white comrades and in this connection this progress that has been made would have been impossible without the contributions, help and assistance of [redacted] of Illinois; SAM KUSHNER and comrade (EUGENE) DENNIS from the (Center?) who has gone into the district, met with the people and helped to hammer out a prospective which I think will be improved on pretty soon.

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I want to propose that we adopt the general direction of the resolution which we have before us here and the proposed amendments that came out of the NEC discussion and the many fine amendments that have been made here in the course of the discussion and send this resolution out to the Party as a basis for discussion.

Vote on LIGHTFOOT's Proposal

ALBERTSON called for a vote on the motion made by LIGHTFOOT and it was approved with only one opposed and one abstention.

Remarks of HY LUMER

I just want to tell you that we are issuing a four page folder on the 30 hour week. We expect that the cost of the folder will be \$8.50 per 1,000. A number of men have seen the text of it. I would like if possible, to get orders from as many districts while you are here. It is at the printers. So that is the first point. Secondly, with regard to the mimeographing of the resolution, let me know how many copies you will need for your districts so we will know how many to prepare.

Remarks of WILLIAM ALBERTSON

The next point on our order of business in connection with general convention preparations is the question of Party consolidation.

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Remarks of HY LUMER

We want to propose the preparation of a resolution on this question along the following lines: 1. The status of the Party which would include not only a picture of where the Party stands but what has happened to it. 2. The Party's role in the present political situation. 3. The question of building mass ties. 4. Organizational problems of the Party. 5. Ideological problems and tasks of the Party.

This is not intended to give you the idea of what the actual content will be but rather what the resolution is intended to cover and included in this will be the question of criticism and self-criticism. It is proposed that the NEC be authorized to set up a committee for the drafting of a resolution of general character to be submitted at a later date in September as part of the material for preconvention discussion.

Vote on LUMER's Proposal

ALBERTSON called for a vote on LUMER's proposal and asked for a show of hands. Following this, he stated that the proposal had been unanimously carried.

Remarks of PHIL BART

First in connection with the date and place of the convention, I have a number of recommendations of cities where to hold the convention. We, (the convention committee), propose

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that the National Committee direct the NEC to issue a call to a convention. This convention should be held at the Theresa Hotel, New York City, on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, December 10, 11, 12 and 13, 1959. I would just like to say one word on the date. There has been considerable discussion and exchange of opinion as to whether to hold the convention earlier - that is around Thanksgiving. It was the feeling of a number of comrades from the West Coast and the Midwest that holding it at that time would be inadequate for the preparations. It would hardly give the necessary time in accordance with the constitution for the pre-convention discussion. It is therefore recommended that it be held December 10 through the 13th, 1959, and I make that a motion.

Remarks of WILLIAM ALBERTSON

You have heard this motion. What is your pleasure? ALBERTSON then noted that the motion had been seconded and called for a vote. There was no opposition and the motion was unanimously carried.

Remarks of PHIL BART

In accordance with the Constitution, Article 5, Section 2, the basis for representation for the convention is to be by the National Committee. Now we had a number of discussions on this question. We had recommendations from comrades in San Francisco, Seattle, Illinois and New York, and a number of suggestions were made out of which

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a formula was reached, now titled as a Chicago Formula, because it happened to have been proposed by a number of comrades there. The main aim of the call, the proposition of the delegation to be taken into consideration from the districts, especially districts in the Midwest to assure adequate representation in line with the size, had to be considered. We were also guided by the recommendation of two years ago. We propose as follows: That election of delegates shall be on the following basis. 1. For the first 300 members in a district, based on average dues, the district shall be entitled to three delegates for each 100 for a total of 9. 2. That for the next 200 it shall be entitled to 2 for every 100 for a total of 4, and for each additional 75 or major fraction thereof each district shall have one delegate. Every functioning district organization of the Party under 100 shall be entitled to one delegate. Where the Party organization has been practically destroyed, such areas shall be entitled to send fraternal delegates. That each district shall be entitled to its full vote of this delegation where the full delegation can not attend the convention and that district shall send alternate people equal to 25 per cent of their delegations.

It is estimated that we will have in the neighborhood of 100 to 125 delegates.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

One question. A district under 100 has one delegate and a district with 300 gets three delegates per 100. Suppose a district has 75 members. Why should it not have two delegates?

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Remarks of WILLIAM ALBERTSON

Want to make an amendment?

Remarks of Unknown Male, Mentioned Above

Yes. Two for 50 to 100 and one for less than 50.

Remarks of WILLIAM ALBERTSON

The Committee agrees with the amendment, so to the original motion has now been added the following: That for districts with less than 50, there will be one delegate. From 50 to 100, will be 2 delegates, and then we start with the original idea for the first 300, 3 for 100. All in favor will signify by raising their hands. Down. Opposed, if any? In abstention? New York was in favor of this but permitted it to be called the Chicago plan.

Remarks of PHIL BART

On determining the average dues, it is proposed that the average dues shall be determined on the basis of 10 months from January to October, 1959. In determining the average which shall include all dues paid through November 30, 1959. That means that all dues coming in to the end of November will be counted in the average over a 10 month period.

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Remarks of Unknown Male

I'd like clarification by what is meant by all dues paid to November 30 inasmuch as some people pay dues in advance for months to follow. Would they be included? Or are we stipulating that while the dues may come in until November 30, the only part that will count is that which was paid for any one of the first 10 months.

Remarks of PHIL BART

We can hardly record month by month for each district. That is very difficult. I would say that on the average, it will make very very little difference. As a matter of fact, we counted from 1959, 1958, 1957 and 1956, dues and so on and it averages out over the years. Now I'm sure that over this 10 month period, taking into consideration this extra month, there may be a few area's payments for a whole year - it won't effect the delegations very much.

Discussion on Proposed Amendment

There was considerable discussion concerning the proposed amendment on the matter of dues payments during which WILLIAM ALBERTSON strongly opposed the amendment pointing out that the main desire was to get delegates to the convention and it was financially decided that the matter of special assessment for the convention should be referred to the NEC for action.

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Remarks of PHIL BART

BART made the motion that "whereas the 17th National Convention will consider proposals for the method to elect NC members it is resolved that the NC recommend to state conventions that they take no action under Article 5, Section 5, until the National Convention has determined the procedure for such an election."

Remarks of CARL WINTER

It is obvious that there is a very real problem here and not all features of the problem have been explored. However there is one other aspect that I think you should give careful thought to and that is the matter of not doing anything that will possibly enable anyone outside of our movement with alternative purposes to in any way make it appear that our Constitution is not the operative law of the Party. I think we had some experience with efforts of our enemies to misrepresent the nature and purposes of our Constitution and I don't know how to meet this but I think it is very important that we do meet it. For all the reasons that have been given, it is apparent that some change must be made in Article 5, Section 5, but what this change is and how it is made is of less importance as of this moment than that no question can exist after this convention but what the convention and the committee that is elected were the results of strict adherence to the Constitutional rules

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of the Party. Failure to guarantee that puts in danger the quality of the Constitution as a whole in the event that it is legally challenged at some future date as our past Constitutions have been. Therefore, perhaps the thing to do is to seek some legal advice about meeting the practical requirements and yet guaranteeing that we have proceeded in accordance with the Constitution. It may include a referendum distasteful as that is. Perhaps we can get folks to find some other methods but I would urge comrades, very seriously, to avoid anything that looks like the Constitution is treated as a matter of convenience. This Constitution at a time when we are fighting for the Constitutional rights of our Party and for the observance of the Constitutional rights of the American people must be held in very careful regard in our Party crisis.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

I would propose that PHIL's motion which I believe is politically necessary should be adopted with the basis that the National Committees make a referendum of the State Committees in accordance with the - article of the Constitution.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

I would agree with GENE's proposal. In the discussion in the NEC, while the problem that has been raised by both DOROTHY (HEALEY) and CARL is apparent, I think that to leave this meeting and proceed to the District Conventions with the idea that the District Conventions are going to elect NC members based on this formula, the number of members and the procedure that

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was established at the last convention, is going to create more problems and has potentially within it the possibility of greater difficulties, legal and public and otherwise, than if we adopt some procedure especially the procedure emphasized in the proposal by GENE. Because, beside the obvious fact that this question is going to be debated within the framework of other questions relative to the question of Democratic centralism as it is presently in the Constitution and as it will be considered in terms of what changes will be proposed, the other reason for it is the size of the NC.

Now we are stuck with something more actively within the Constitutional provision and I think the NC ought to be clear about it because at the time that formula was adopted it was also understood that this convention would not be able to change the size of the NC that will function from this convention to the next one. Now I think we have to try to fight that. We have a situation in the Party, where the Party, I don't know in terms of what percentage it is today as compared to that time, at that time many people felt the Committee we elected was too large and unwieldy, is going to be entirely out of proportion now.

Therefore unless we can get agreement, and it seems to me that if we adopt this proposal of GENE's and raise it in the State Committees, have a referendum based on votes of the State Committees, that is not in violation of the Constitution and will have been properly submitted to the Party. This way we are not going to get ourselves in the complications that's going to be involved if we proceed to elect at the conventions.

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Remarks of IRVING POTASH

POTASH felt that the original proposal was a straight forward honest approach and indicated that he didn't see the need for any amendment.

Remarks of

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said that he was in agreement with CARL WINTER and disagreed with IRVING POTASH. He said that he would much rather see a referendum than to act in a way that was in disobedience of the Constitution.

Vote on Motion and Amendment

Prior to taking a vote ALBERTSON announced that he would attempt to clarify the motion and the amendment. He restated the motion as originally stated by BART but in reading the amendment it appeared that as a result of discussion the matter was to be submitted to a referendum of the membership rather than as originally proposed, a referendum of the State Committees. ALBERTSON read the amendment as follows: "The amendment is that this resolve shall be submitted to the membership by referendum to be determined by a particular date that has not been settled yet certainly by a date well in advance of the State Conventions. That is the motion and the amendment."

The motion as amended was carried.

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WILLIAM ALBERTSON read a motion that each State draft a resolution as pertaining to the particular problem of that State. The motion was carried.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS in the concluding speech stated that the 17th Convention will take place under different conditions in that the CP is now unified, the Negro movement is strong and even though the CP is small, it is influential and has much to do on various issues. DENNIS noted that during 1958, only 100 new members were brought into the CP. He urged that an additional 100 be brought in between the 40th anniversary and the date of the holding of the 17th Convention.

Before the meeting was adjourned DENNIS again emphasized the necessity for the CP to take steps to bring into existence a Marxist Socialist Youth Organization which can meet in September.

8-14-59

AIR-TEL

REGISTERED AIR MAIL

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
From: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-1978-V)
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C
"CINAL"

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 9-14-59, that at a State Committee meeting of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party, GUS HALL urged that the CP, USA, increase its Party membership, in view of what he termed favorable public sentiment.

In line with HALL's desires, the Party in this District expects to increase its membership by 15 in time for this Party's State Convention, 11/28-29/59.

3 - Bureau

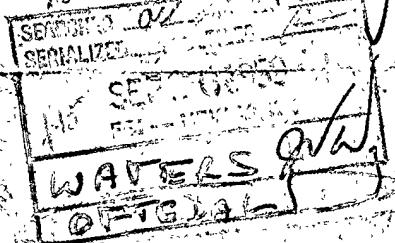
1 - Cleveland (RM) (GUS HALL) (Info.)
1 - New York (RM) (MEMBERSHIP) (Info.)
3 - Minneapolis

[redacted] (1 - 100-130) (GUS HALL)

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814)

DATE: 9/10/59

FROM : SA JOHN F. LANGTRY

SUBJECT: CP, USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Identity of Source

NY 2358-S*

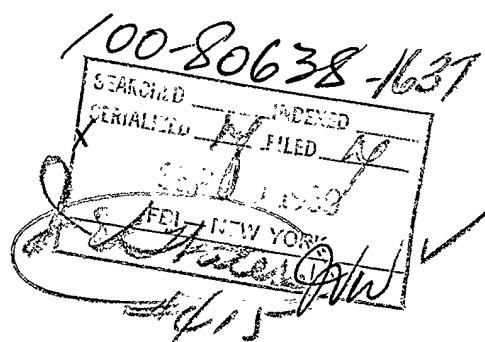
Reliability

Who has furnished
reliable information
in the past

Date

8/10/59

1-New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (415)
1-New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
1-New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (416)
1-New York (100-20) [REDACTED] (416)
1-New York (100-25623) (ERIC BERT) (415)
1-New York (100-13527) [REDACTED] (423)
1-New York (100-15946) (JIM TORMEY) (422)
1-New York (100-54555) [REDACTED] (424)
1-New York (100-80641) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (415)
1-New York (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1-New York (100-128817) (CP, USA NYD MEMBERSHIP) (416)
1-New York (100-128814)

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JFL:rmv
(13)

NY 100-128814

According to NY 2358-S*, on 8/10/59, a meeting of the State Board of the CP, USA, NY District, was held on that date in the second floor board room at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC. WILLIAM ALBERTSON was chairman of this meeting, which was also attended by BILL PATTERSON, BETTY GANNETT, ERIC BERT, DAVE SCALES, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] JIM TORMEY and a representative from the National Office, GUS HALL.

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ALBERTSON stated that the agenda for this meeting was as follows:

1. a report on the National Committee's outlook on the National Convention, by GUS HALL.
2. the organizational proposals for the National and State Conventions.
3. an announcement that the next State Board meeting would be held August 24, 1959, and that a meeting of the State Committee would be held on August 28 and 29, 1959.

NY 2358-S* reported that GUS HALL gave a resume on what took place at the CP, USA, National Committee meetings held in NYC, on July 25 and 26, 1959, regarding the coming 17th National Convention of the CP. HALL stated that at the National Committee meeting, they had agreed on two resolutions: 1. the main political resolution and 2. the resolution on the Negro Peoples Movement. HALL stated that it was also agreed that a committee would be set up to receive amendments to the constitution and that

NY 100-128814

amendments can be sent in right up to the time of the convention. He added that generally speaking, the outlook for this coming convention should be received as an important step in the rebuilding of the CP. He added the main attention at this convention should be on the problems that face "us". He added that there will be disappointment if the Party expects the convention to solve all "our" problems, but at this convention "we" want to look forward and up and to progress by our Party. HALL stated that as Marxists, "we", should be concerned in helping to build a loose coalition against the monopolies. There is a need for a Marxist vanguard organization in this struggle. As far as the Party is concerned, the National Convention has to spell out not only that the Party does have a place in the American scene, but also to set forth its role in the American scene.

HALL stated if the leaders of the Party set the proper tone in pre-convention discussions, "we" should receive tremendous results. It must deepen understanding of ourselves and those around us. "We" have the responsibility not to disturb or destroy the group as long as it is moving in the right direction. Each individual has that responsibility. "We" have to re-establish a certain responsibility, "we" have towards "this Party of ours." HALL stated for example, it is wrong to say that the resolution should be exactly as I want it, as long as the main thing is there and it is correct, I am not going to raise a fuss over it. This way we are re-establishing a certain responsibility towards the Party.

NY 2358-S* reported that after HALL'S report, a short discussion was held on it by those present, however, it was decided that no vote would be taken on the report, since,

NY 100-128814

as BILL ALBERTSON described it, this was a report on the outlook of the National Committee on the convention and not on the resolutions adopted by the National Committee at their last meeting. NY 2358-S* reported that the resolutions proposed and accepted at the National Committee, had been given to those in attendance at the State Board meeting to read prior to GUS HALL's report.

NY 2358-S* reported that BILL ALBERTSON then gave the report on the proposals for the National and State Conventions which dealt primarily with time, place and delegates. ALBERTSON stated that the National Convention will take place December 10, 11, 12 and 13 at the Theresa Hotel in NYC. He stated that pre-convention discussions will open on September 10. ALBERTSON stated that discussions would be held on different resolutions including Negro matters, political, labor, and youth. He also reported that there is a referendum which is now being circulated throughout the Party concerning an amendment to the constitution. According to ALBERTSON, the constitution adopted at the 16th National Convention had one section in it which it said that members of the National Committee must be elected by the State Convention prior to the National Convention and the number designated by the preceding National Convention. He said that because of this, there are two problems, one is that the Party is entirely changed as to the number of members which were registered at the time of the 16th National Convention and, therefore, the representation for the different districts would have to be changed. Secondly, it is the privilege peculiar to the National Committee, that

NY 100-128814

the National Committee members should be elected to the National Committee at the National Convention. These ballots on the referendum have already been passed out. This referendum would amend the section of the constitution and would authorize the National Convention in session to elect the National Committee to function between the 17th and 18th National Convention.

As for the basis for representation to the National Convention, for the first 300 members, there will be three delegates for each 100, for the next 200 members, there would be two delegates for each 100 and for each additional 75 or major fraction thereof, there would be one delegate. Therefore, he said using this formula, the largest possible delegation that the State NY CP could have, would be based on its current membership, would be approximately 32. ALBERTSON continued for the districts who have less than 50 members, they get one delegate and for districts who have over 500 but less than 100, they get two delegates. Alternates that are elected are not to exceed one fourth of the total delegation, in other words, if the NY State CP has 32 delegates, they will be allowed 8 alternates.

The dues paid basis for considering membership on which the delegates will be based, will be for the 12 month period, starting October 1, 1958 and ending October 1, 1959, and divided by 12, this will give us the membership to which we are entitled to determine the number of delegates. Furthermore, according to ALBERTSON, there will be an assessment levied to help defray the cost of the conventions. This assessment will be the equivalent of two months dues. This drive on the convention assessment has been proposed to open on September 1, 1959.

NY 100-128814

ALBERTSON stated that the State Convention has been proposed to take place on November 27, 28 and 29, and to be held at Academy Hall. Also, that the dues basis for representation would be the same as the National, which he had previously discussed. However, representation to the State Convention would be one delegate for every 20 members or major fraction thereof. The number of delegates and alternates would be approximately 125 persons.

Another proposal set forth by ALBERTSON was that delegates to the State Convention would be elected from the County Conventions and that the County Conventions should take place either on the week ends of November 6, 7, and 8, or November 13, 14 and 15.

NY 2358-S* advised that following these proposals by ALBERTSON, a short discussion was held by those present, after which ALBERTSON stated that the proposals would not be voted on at this time, but would be put on paper and presented to the next State Committee meeting to be held in August. He warned, however, that these proposals were subject to change before them.

The informant stated that after ALBERTSON'S report and statements, the meeting was adjourned.

FBI

DATE: 9/10/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL RM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C
CINAL

ReNYairtel to Bureau, 9/9/59, captioned "CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS."

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

5 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
(1 - 100-3-83)(CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES)
(1 - 100-3-81)(CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
2 - Chicago (INFO)(RM)
(1 - 100-) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP)
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (416)
1 - NY (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
1 - NY (100-91330) (415)
1 - NY (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (415)
1 - NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - NY (100-89691) (CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES) (415)
1 - NY (100-89590) (CPUSA-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (415)
1 - NY (100-86624) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
1 - NY (100-80638) (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1 - NY (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
1 - NY (100-80641)

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HCO:KMI
(24)

100-80638-1638

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. J. Waters, Jr.

NY 100-80641

On 9/9/59, NY 2359-S* advised that members of the Resident NEC, CPUSA and invited guests met in the third floor board room on above date at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. It is noted that shortly after the meeting opened a proposal was made to adjourn to the Penthouse office of EUGENE DENNIS to conduct the meeting.

NY 2362-S* reported that the following individuals were in attendance:

JAMES JACKSON
PHIL BART
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
JACK STACHEL
BEN DAVIS, JR.
BILL ALBERTSON
IRVING POTASH
ARNOLD JOHNSON

[redacted]
and an individual believed to be GEORGE MORRIS

JAMES JACKSON chaired the meeting.

JACK STACHEL proposed that the two main questions of youth and the AFL-CIO convention would be taken up at a later date, possibly Thursday 9/10/59.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then reported on the emergency situation in the struggle to get the amnesty campaign off the ground in both Harlem and New York. She expressed the opinion that direction for the campaign should not come from the national level, but rather that New York State should get something started on it. She said the Christmas amnesty campaign needs a special appeal and needs to be started immediately if it is to be a success.

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NY 100-80641

Informant advised that BEN DAVIS, JR. then spoke concerning the possible picketing at the Mexican Consulate, NYC. This information has been forwarded to the Bureau by referenced airtel. The only additional point discussed concerning this matter was that JAMES JACKSON was of the opinion that the National Committee, CPUSA, should direct some sort of a statement to the Mexican Government and JACK STACHEL was appointed to write a statement.

PHIL BART next discussed the regional conferences to be held September 26 and 27, 1959. (No place was mentioned for this conference). BART commented that it was to be a one point agenda, mainly that of strengthening the Party organization. He said their aim is 300 new members by convention time and that Chicago has projected a target for 50 new members for its area.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then stated that the Party was leaving out the defense from attacks on the Party by the McCarran Act and the membership registration cases. She expressed the opinion that the getting of new members was conditioned on whether they would come under attack. She also mentioned that the Party is neglecting to protect the rights of "our own leader, BILL FOSTER" and that "we" should be fighting to get him better medical attention "out of the country." She also expressed the opinion that a defense committee should be formed, noting that in the past they had the CRC (Civil Rights Congress) but now "we have nothing but ourselves."

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that in his opinion they were overstressing the building of the Party and commented that the building of the Party press should be a necessity.

NY 100-80641

BILL ALBERTSON stated that the "conference" (Regional Conference) should determine the ideological questions the Party must "grapple with." He pointed out that this is not a conference to start a Party building campaign, but rather to look into Party organization. PHIL BART favored having a specific presentation at the conference to determine what is going on in the clubs today.

At this point, the meeting then adjourned to the third floor board room to continue discussion.

NY 2359-S* advised that IRVING POTASH then spoke concerning trade unions and referred to the special issue of "The Worker" concerning the AFL-CIO convention. He expressed the opinion that "The Worker" should have some kind of editorial statements dealing with such questions as the struggle against discrimination, civil liberties, relations with the Soviet Union, labor unity, etc.

BEN DAVIS, JR. commented that a proposition that has to be dealt with more completely is the question of independent political action. He said we have to ask ourselves if the time is right for a third party in this country, adding that the center of such conditions for a third party is the whole question of the South.

An individual believed to be GEORGE MORRIS stated in referring to WALTER REUTHER that we have to "criticize a guy like REUTHER and say why don't you show a little bit of courage and self-respect." This individual also referred to GEORGE MEANEY and characterized him as a man who has always delayed action and who has fought against action.

NY 100-80641

JAMES JACKSON acting as chairman recommended that discussions be scheduled regarding the labor question.

JACK STACHEL suggested that IRVING POTASH and GEORGE MORRIS should work something out for immediate future discussion.

Meeting adjourned.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CLEVELAND

DATE: 9/18/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-84994)

SUBJECT: GUS HALL
SM - C

1 - Cleveland (100-) (GUS HALL) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134-88) (INV) (#421)
1 - New York (100-26603-C40) (BRONX COUNTY CP) (#421)
1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#415)
1 - New York (100-26603-C1931) (EAST BRONX SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (#421)
1 - New York (100-166495) (FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE) (#415)
1 - New York (100-93665) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-62881) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-55159) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-88580) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-) (NORA (LNU), from Northeast Section, per [REDACTED] (#421))
1 - New York (100-135252) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-26603-C1945) (NORTHEAST SECTION BRONX COUNTY CP) (#421)
1 - New York (100-123460) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-81658) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-84756) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-88609) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-102591) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-131690) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-56) [REDACTED] (#416)
1 - New York (100-129474) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-13466) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-) (OSCAR (LNU), from Cultural Club, per [REDACTED] (#421))

1 - New York (100-133346) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-124683) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-83602) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-86965) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-13447) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (105-18272) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-66881) [REDACTED] (#421)
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#415)
1 - New York (100-89590) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (#415)
(COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)
1 - New York (100-84994) (#412)

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10-80638-1639
NY 10/18/59
FBI - NEW YORK
Walters

NY 100-84994

Identity of Source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal)
Description of Info	Meeting honoring GUS HALL, 8/27/59
Date Received	8/31/59
Received By	SA [redacted] (written)
Original Located	[redacted]

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A copy of informant's report follows:

(COPIES CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (#415)
1 - New York (100-80640) (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (#415)
1 - New York (100-102697) (COMINFIL - MASS ORGANIZATIONS) (#41)
1 - New York (100-133090) (NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (#414)
1 - New York (100-97167) (POLITICAL AFFAIRS) (#415)
1 - New York (100-59884) [redacted] (#421)
1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (#415)
1 - New York (100-83865) [redacted] (#421)
1 - New York (100-128810) (CP, NYS - SECURITY MEASURES) (#416)
1 - New York (100-120473) ((FNU)(LNU), former member of Bronx County Committee, active in Bronx NAACP, W, F, heavy set, round face, wears glasses, at meeting honoring GUS HALL, 8/27/59, per [redacted] believed to be [redacted] (#421))
1 - New York (100- [redacted] ((FNU)(LNU), M, heavy beard thin shallow pointed face, heavy black hair, at meeting honoring GUS HALL, 8/27/59, per [redacted])

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NY 100-84994

Date of report Aug. 28, 1959

On Thursday night Aug. 27, the Bronx County Communist Party held a meeting, in honor of GUS HALL, of the National Committee and also an original (victim) member of the first Smith Act, who served a five year jail sentence, in the East Bronx Section at Hunts Point Palace under the name of, The Freedom of The Press Committee.

The Chairman of the meeting was [REDACTED] the Bronx County organizer, also present was, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] from the North East Section, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] from the Cultural Club, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and his wife, a former member of the Bronx County Committee, and active in the Bronx N.A.A.C.P. a white woman heavy set, round face, wears glasses, freckles all over her face and arms & chest sitting with IDA, also sitting with her a man, heavy beard thin shallow pointed face heavy black hair also seen at Party meetings.

[REDACTED] also a number of Negro people, young people, Puerto Rican people all in all there were around 80 people present.

GUS was introduced by [REDACTED] and he started his talk by outlining the situation as it is in the world today.

The recent exchanges between this country and the Soviet Union of many people from all walks of life.

The visit of Vice President NIXON, the visit of our President to Europe to talk with the heads of government.

He spoke of the conditions as they are today here in this country, the steel strike, the various methods used by the steel bosses to reach any agreement. He outlined the heavy tax

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NY 100-84994

load imposed on the people on all fronts, federal, State and local, of another one cent increase in gasoline as of Sept. 1.

In connection with this he related how years back the people of our country rebelled against too much taxation, this might very well happen here if this continues.

GUS outlined the National debt, how in the ROOSEVELT era the Republicans, criticised the large National debt around 8 million, but now it is away up around 178 million and no one openly condemns the Republican Party for it.

Some reasons for the National are first the government pays over 3 million dollars for interest to the banks. etc. on the National debt. next the government pays over ten million rent for the use of bins to the farmers to store the excess wheat. This wheat is stored in different bins each year, the previous years crop stays there, as the previous years also. This is shown by the various color of the wheat as it lays in the bins from year to year.

GUS gave an account of his travels in varous parts of the country, California, Baltimore, Youngstown and how the worker is begining to unite more closely due to the many problems which confront them.

In Youngstown the steel workers are more united than other parts of the country because this is the lifeblood of the community.

GUS then spoke on the many problems facing our country, automation, other techniologcal changes which occur from day to day. Industry after industry changing over, workers being replaced by machines which do the work of thousands of people, an example in the town where he lived with a population of over 1500, an iron ore town, the whole population evacuated in order to dig up the iron ore, two men with huge shovels, the dirt and conveyor belts carrying the dirt three miles and creating a huge new mountain changing the contour of the area.

NY 100-84994

This and other changes due to automation must be solved, in order that the workers retain their jobs, communities and dignity.

GUS then outlined the Party how in the past few years many changes have taken place, people have lost faith with the Party, because of various reasons, political or otherwise these people he calls (exists) the Party has been weakened, the Mc Carthy era has taken its toll, among the youth, Negro people, workers etc. until it was almost certain that there would be no Party. But all that has changed now, the Party is on the upgrade, it is going to celebrate its 40th Anniversary on Sept. 25th many people who left the Party are now returning in large numbers, in various parts of the country the story is much the same.

Tonight he is appealing to any one who is in that category, to come back to the Party, forget the differences that caused us to drop out and help celebrate our fortieth year in the U.S. by being united once again as a Vanguard Marxist Lenin role of years back.

GUS spoke of the youth, the Negro peoples movement he urged us to rebuild these organizations of the past into one great big movement, making it attractive so as to draw people like a magnet. The Communist of the future must be understanding, patient, forgiving, one to help in the many problems facing our people and country together; and he is sure that only in this manner can we expect the Communist Party to grow and rebuild itself.

There was a general discussion, questions and answers after his talk.

[redacted] outlined for GUS and the non Party people what the Bronx County has done in the past year trying to weld the people together, by being active in mass organizations etc. We have taken part in the hospital and dress strike, we have helped organize against Sears in the hub area on E. 149 St. we have

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NY 100-84994

participated in various peace organizations, Sane Nuclear Policy etc., we have held forums and open air meetings in this and other communities.

The Bronx, has in the past and will continue to do so in the future, sponsored and participated in various struggles, around the Party and the Worker issued leaflets, flyers and literature for the building of both.

Near the close of the meeting [redacted] made a collection speech which netted close to fifty dollars or more. In his remarks he urged the people to contribute, to a worth while cause, that people have the misconception that it is against the law to make a collection, and to his knowledge it is not, and if there are any law enforcement officers or any one connected with the government he openly defies them to stop him, if it means going to jail he is willing to risk that to prove his point.

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There was a literature table set up in the rear of the hall with all kind of literature, and [redacted] urged us to take advantage of it, and to remember that the Sept. Political Affairs will be a special anniversary and pre convention issue.

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Copies of the Worker were distributed, the recent flyer edition, were given to those making a contribution.

At the end of the meeting [redacted] asked [redacted] to attend a Section Committee meeting at her house on Monday Aug. 31, [redacted] also told SAL that there would be a Bronx County Committee [redacted] at her house on Wednesday night Sept. 2.

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[redacted] told [redacted] that [redacted] was in the hospital as was [redacted]

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As to a meeting of Club 4, SAL promised to call and see if [redacted] is home or not and then he will call them for a meeting.

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[redacted] is against holding the club meeting at [redacted] house because of the possibility of endangering him in his work around the Sobell Committee. The F.B.I. are watching his house and it will cause undue hardship to him and the Party.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

9/23/59

SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-242-Sub 1)

CP - USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

On the best available information, there are an estimated six CP members or sympathizers who are suspected of being CP members in the territory covered by the San Antonio Division. Of these six, three of them can be positively identified as CP members and one of them tentatively identified as a CP member; two are Security Informants.

The six individuals tabulated by nationality, race, sex, employment, known veterans, and known union members are set forth below:

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Sex</u>
American.... 6	White..... 5 Negro..... 1 Total..... 6	Male.... 6

<u>Veterans</u>	<u>Union Members</u>	<u>Employment</u>
4	None Known.	Attorney..... 1 Bakery worker..... 1 Bookkeeper..... 2 Car Attendant..... 1 Salesman..... 1

[redacted] has advised that [redacted] appears to continue to be the main CP leader in San Antonio. He continues his efforts to reorganize the CP in this area and is one of the two San Antonio representatives on the State Committee of the CP. He remains the Executive Secretary of the CP in Texas. [redacted] is also one of the Texas representatives on the Southern Regional Committee.

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P-Bureau (AM, RM)

2 New York (100-) (CP membership) AM, RM

2-SA

(1-100-242)

JMR/epk
(6)

Chief Clerk

C. Post, f. 66

110-80035-160
J. V. Waters, Jr.
x 415

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)(415) DATE: 9/28/59

FROM : SA [redacted] (41)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

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Description of Info: CPUSA to start a recruitment
drive to secure 200 new
members

Date received: 9/15/59

Received by: SA [redacted] (written)

Original location: [redacted]

Information furnished by informant, as reflected
above, must be handled with utmost care to protect identity
of informant.

A copy of informant's written report follows:

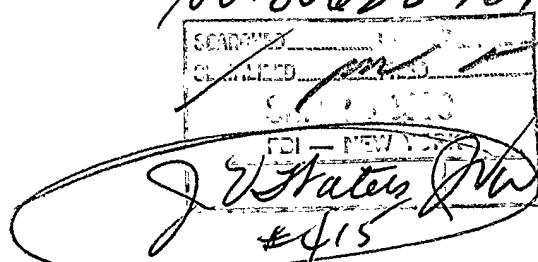
[redacted]

1 - NY 100-93665 [redacted] (421)
1 - NY 100-26603- (CP, NYD)(416)
1 - NY 100-26603-040 (BRONX COUNTY CP)(421)
1 - NY 100-7789 (NPPR)(413)
1 - NY 100-26603-C (SOUTHEAST BRONX - NYD CP)(421)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)
1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(415)
1 - NY 100-133903 (CP, NYD - COMINFIL MASS ORGS)(416)
1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, NYD - MEMBERSHIP)(416)
1 - NY 100-80638 (415)

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JPH:msb
(12)

WTRW



NY 100-80638

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.
Activities.

Sept. 12, 1959
New York.

According to [redacted] organizer of the Bronx County Communist Party, the N. Y. State Committee of the Communist Party at it's last meeting at the last week-end of August, 1959 decided to start a drive to recruit "a minimum of 200 new members" for the Communist Party. The task of recruiting 200 members should be accomplished when the National Convention of the C.P. will start on December 10th, 1959.

[redacted] said that the State Convention (N. Y. State) of C.P. will be held on November 27-28.

According to [redacted] the Bronx Communist Party "will play an important role in the party's recruiting drive." The Bronx is starting "a concentration campaign to recruit members for the party amoung the Spanish speaking people - Cubans and Puerto Ricans."

The main concentration will be in the South-East of the Bronx where "large masses of Spanish -speaking workers now reside."

[redacted] said that she proposed to DAVIS and ALBERTSON to find a way to have in The Worker a "Spanish page." Such a page, according to [redacted] would not only help to build the C.P. amoung the Spanish speaking residents in the Bronx but it will also serve the purpose of creating united front-mass actions with the existing Spanish-speaking mass organizations.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33740)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 9/29/59

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on September 23, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This oral information was reduced to writing on September 24, 1959:

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

1 - Cincinnati (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - Cleveland (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - Detroit (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - Los Angeles (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - Minneapolis (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

4 - New York (REGISTERED)

 (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)

 (1 - 100-128817) (CP-USA, New York District, Membership)

 (1 - 100-131666) (CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee)

 (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)

1 - Philadelphia (100-32208) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - Pittsburgh (100-) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

1 - San Francisco (100-26239) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)

4 - Chicago

 (1 - A/134-46)

 (1 - 100-18952) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Membership)

 (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)

JEK/kws
(18)

100-80638-1642

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 29 1959	

J. E. Keating
J. V. Stahl
100-80638-1642

September 23, 1959

On September 23, 1959, MORRIS CHILDS was heard to ask PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, what he should say is the current membership of the Communist Party - USA, if he should happen to be asked that question by another Communist Party.

PHIL BART stated that the membership of the Communist Party - USA is about 5,000. BART said that if you want to be liberal, you could say that it is 6,000. Asked what the membership figures are for the major Districts in the Communist Party - USA, BART replied as follows:

New York has 1,800, although it is probably closer to 1,700 than it is to 1,800.

Illinois states that it has 600, but I say that this figure is too high.

Northern California has 400 members, and Southern California has 1,000 members. The total for California is 1,400.

Minnesota and the Dakotas - 300.

Ohio has 400 members, although this is liberal and probably padded, as are most of these figures.

Michigan has 300 members.

All of Pennsylvania has 150 members, with just a handful in Pittsburgh, so most of these are in Eastern Pennsylvania.

When asked the figure for the South, BART said that he did not know. He said that the other Districts do not have enough members worth talking about.

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ~~SAC~~ ASAC 1

TO : SAC, Baltimore

DATE: September 29, 1959

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Each office receiving copies of this letter are instructed to submit estimated membership figures for the quarter ending 9/30/59 to reach the Bureau no later than 10/15/59. Be certain to include figures showing number of Communist Party members positively and tentatively identified as such during 12-month period beginning 10/1/58. Figures submitted should agree with those to be used in quarterly reports.

Suairtel using caption of this communication.

2 - Boston
2 - Buffalo
2 - Chicago
2 - Cleveland
2 - Detroit
2 - Los Angeles
2 - Miami

2 - Minneapolis
2 - Newark
② - New York
2 - Philadelphia
2 - San Francisco
2 - Seattle
2 - Washington Field

Ticheler made
for 10/1/59

cc in 100-128817
JUL 16 1959

Hawkins

100-80638-1643

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 30 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walter J. Johnson

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 10/9/59

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-1878-P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
(ORGANIZATION)
IS - C
"CINAL"

The following is information concerning the Midwest
CP Regional Conferences held in Chicago, Illinois, on 9/26-27/59.

This information was given orally to SA [redacted]
[redacted] on 10/8/59, by [redacted] who has furnished reliable infor-
mation in the past. This information was reduced to writing by
SA [redacted] on October 8, 1959, and authenticated as accurate by
informant on same date. This information is filed as [redacted]

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The above described information is set out verbatim.

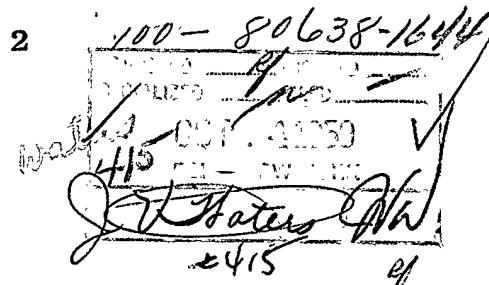
21 - MINNEAPOLIS

1 - 100-1878-P ORGANIZATION	4 - BUREAU (RM)
1 - 100-1878-V MEMBERSHIP	(2 - 100-3-69 ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-11136 CINAL	(1 - 100-3-68 MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-6576 E. DENNIS	(1 - CINAL)
1 - 100-180 GUS HALL	6 - CHICAGO (RM)
1 - 100-10530 C. LIGHTFOOT	(2 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-10474 HY LUMER	(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-8367 F. BLAIR	(1 - 61-867 C. LIGHTFOOT)
1 - 100-10914 MRS. F. BLAIR	(1 - 100- SAM KUSCHNER)
1 - 100-62 CARL & HELEN WINTER	(1 - 100- UNIDENT FEMALE)
1 - 100-10488 ANTHONY KRCHMAREK	5 - CLEVELAND (RM)
1 - 100-8246 SAM KUSCHNER	(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-386 [redacted]	(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-371 [redacted]	(1 - 100- GUS HALL)
1 - 100-6648 [redacted]	(1 - 100- HYMAN LUMER)
1 - 100-5923 [redacted]	(1 - 100- ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
1 - 100-4437 [redacted]	4 - MILWAUKEE (RM)
1 - 100-88 [redacted]	(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-1328 [redacted]	
1 - 100-6385 [redacted]	
1 - 100-1902 [redacted]	

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MJF:aab
(58) aab

cc's cont. Page 2



cc's Continued:

(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- FRED BLAIR)
(1 - 100- MRS. FRED BLAIR)

3 - ST. LOUIS (RM)
(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- UNIDENT MALE)

5 - DETROIT (RM)
(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- CARL WINTER)
(1 - 100- HELEN WINTER)
(1 - 100- UNIDENT MALE)

3 - INDIANAPOLIS (RM)
(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- UNIDENT MALE)

1 - KANSAS CITY (RM)
(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION) (INFO)

⑥ - NEW YORK (RM)
(1 - 100- ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100- MEMBERSHIP)
(1 - 100- 8057 EUGENE DENNIS)
(1 - 100- GUS HALL)
(1 - 100- HYMAN LUMER)
(1 - 100- 82905)

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"Brainerd, Minn.
10-8-59

"It was determined that in the afternoon of 9-26-59 the first session of the Midwest CP Regional Conference was held in the Yacht Club Room of the Midwest Hotel in Chicago, Ill. At this first session there were representatives from Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin and Missouri. This is the extent of information known regarding the first session.

"On Sunday 9-27-59 the second session of the Regional Conference was held in the Yacht Club Room of the Midwest Hotel in Chicago. This conference began at 10:00 am and adjourned at approximately 5:00 pm.

"At the second session were representatives from the following states: Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Missouri. In addition to these representatives were GUS HALL and EUGENE DENNIS from New York.

"CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT chaired the second session. Although it is not definitely known it is believed EUGENE DENNIS was the first speaker at the second session. His comments are not known.

"GUS HALL was introduced and delivered a speech lasting approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ hour. HALL urged that the Communist Party be divided into 4 Regions in the United States, such as, an Eastern Region, Western Region, a Midwest Region and a Southern Region. HALL explained that such a development in the CP would enhance better understanding of the working conditions in each of the Districts belonging to a particular Region, thereby affording the National Committee a more of an intelligent and workable approach to Party problems. HALL said that members of the National Committee attending such Regional Conferences would naturally exchange problems peculiar only to their particular Districts and therefore such a working structure would eliminate the expenditure of time and effort on problems totally unfamiliar to the respective Regions. Everyone in attendance at this second session appeared to be in complete agreement with HALL's Regional organizational proposal and it was decided this matter would be fully discussed at the various State Conventions coming up and that State Delegates to the National Convention should be instructed on how to vote on this matter. It was generally agreed by all in

attendance there definitely exists a need for the establishment of a Regional structure set up in the CP USA.

"HALL urged general build-up of membership in the Communist Party and said this build-up should be done immediately because of the unfavorable economic conditions existing in the country today. Specifically HALL criticized the evils of automation in a capitalistic society stating these evils create vast unemployment and subsequently destroys the market for the goods they produce. HALL said that the CP must organize to such perfection so that it can act as the vanguard when the people are in struggle and poverty after automation gets a stranglehold in the industry of the country and causes serious unemployment; it is at this time the CP hopes to lead the peoples in their struggles.

"HYMAN LUMER then delivered a short talk on CP Educational classes, distribution of party literature to the public as well as party members and in general he urged that the CP distribute the Worker at factory gates.

"Next on the agenda was a discussion by District and/or State organizers on Party organization.

"A spokesman for each State delegation was allowed 15 minutes to report his state's Party conditions. After each delivered their reports a second delegate from each State spoke and was allowed 10 minutes of speaking time.

"FRED BLAIR, representing Wisconsin, stated the CP there had no paid party functionary. Whatever Party work is required to be done there, he and his wife take care of it on week ends and when on vacation. BLAIR said that he vacationed this past summer in northern Wisconsin and that he and his wife contacted many old time Party members, sold a considerable amount of literature, and sold many Worker subs. BLAIR said he was cordially accepted by all persons he contacted.

"CARL WINTER, representing Michigan, related in great detail the change in attitude on the part of officials of organized labor and the public in general in that he is now being contacted for advice and counsel by them, concerning labor problems, taxes, and small businessmen's problems. Winter said this is a favorable trend and that there appears to be an era of good

feeling towards the CP and its leaders.

"ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, representing Ohio, said the Party has made great strides in the Steel Industry in Ohio. Specifically he mentioned that labor leaders, unknown to the rank and file of labor, have been contacting CP leaders there, sitting in on discussions with them and soliciting the Party's help in drawing up labor contracts, providing food and shelter for those on strike and labor leaders have been known to permit Party members in Ohio to distribute literature at the factory gates and picket lines.

"The Indiana spokesman was a person described as 6'2", 190 lbs, white, male, wore a hearing aid, about 55-60 yrs old and possibly lives in South Bend, Indiana. He mentioned that the labor force at the Studebaker plant in South Bend took a cut in wages last year principally because labor refused to deal with CP leaders. This year however, labor leaders of the union at the Studebaker plant have been meeting secretly with CP leaders in hopes the CP will help gain demands similar to that of other automobile plants of the country.

"The Missouri spokesman was a person described as: Negro, male, 5'6", 125 lbs, slender build, black hair, slightly greying, black eyes, age 50 yrs, very slow talker, home is in St. Louis, Mo. and he was very poorly attired. He said there are no paid Party functionaries in the St. Louis area and said that Party activity and membership is practically nil in that area. He implied that the only activity was the sale of a very few Worker subs and that these subs were recently obtained. He definitely was not well acquainted with others at this conference and appeared apprehensive in his delivery and actions.

"SAM KUSCHNER, representing Illinois, discussed the serious conditions of Chicago. He said that the packing house and other industry has been gradually leaving the Chicago area and thus creating severe hardship on that segment of the public who spent their lifetime in these industries. He said that these families are unable to meet their home mortgage obligations, credit installment payments and that this situation can become quite an explosive economic crisis. KUSCHNER said he has been criticized for lack of Chicago news in the Worker and urged that Party members get material in to him and that he would see

to it that such material would appear as articles in the Worker.

"There was also a female spokesman representing Illinois who briefly discussed club level organization of the CP in Chicago proper. She said that non-party members have been extended invitations to club meetings and implied that such action has proven quite successful. In other words, the non party people are afforded an opportunity to sit in on party meetings and obtain first hand knowledge on how the CP functions. She left the definite inference that meetings whereat the public is invited are more or less educational type functions. This female representative from Illinois is described as: White, female, age 50, 5'6", 160-170 lbs., hair dark. (This person is believed to possibly be the wife of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

[redacted] Minnesota, said that the Minnesota - Dakotas District has 15 more party members than a year ago and that all Party dues are current and paid up to the National. DAVIS mentioned that Marxist Educational Classes have been formed in the Twin Cities and have proven to be successful. He also stated that he and GUS HALL had held some meetings recently in Duluth and on the Iron Range area of Minnesota.

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[redacted] Minnesota, bragged on how simple a task it was to obtain Worker Subs in the Minnesota area. He mentioned that thought the utilization of a little effort on his part he was able to obtain a total of 80 worker subs in Northern Minnesota covering a 20 mile area.

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"The second spokesman for the Michigan delegation mentioned the need for more educational classes, the need for increased distribution of party literature and said he was quite successful in selling Worker subs in the Detroit area. He also stressed the fact that labor in general has been more friendlier to the CP than in the past. This person is described as: Negro, male, 6', 190 lbs, black hair, wore glasses, age 40, lives in Detroit, very intelligent appearing person and a good speaker.

"The meeting adjourned at approximately 5:00 pm.

"In attendance at the 2nd session of the Midwest CP Regional Conference there were approximately 50 persons of whom the following are recalled:

1. EUGENE DENNIS
2. GUS HALL
3. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
4. HYMAN LUMER
5. FRED BLAIR
6. MRS. FRED BLAIR
7. CARL WINTER
8. HELEN WINTER
9. ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
10. UNIDENT FROM INDIANA
W, M, 6'2", 190 lbs, 50-60 yrs old, wore hearing aid, possibly lives in South Bend, In., Lite Brwn Hair.
11. UNIDENT FROM MISSOURI
Negro, male, 5'6", 125 lbs, 50 yrs old, slender, black hair, slightly greying, black eyes, very slow talker, lives in St. Louis, Mo.
12. SAM KUSCHNER
13. UNIDENT FROM ILLINOIS
W, Female, 5'6", 160-170 lbs, age 50, hair dark, possibly wife of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.
14. [REDACTED]
15. [REDACTED]
16. UNIDENT FROM MICHIGAN
Negro, male, 6', 190 lbs, black hair, wore glasses, age 40, lives in Detroit. very intelligent, good speaker
17. [REDACTED]
18. [REDACTED]
19. [REDACTED]
20. [REDACTED]
21. [REDACTED]
22. [REDACTED]
23. [REDACTED]

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"All of the above listed individuals should be considered current members of the Communist Party by the very nature of their presence at the conference described herein."

ACTION: File as designated.

F B I

Date: 10/19/59

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)
Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (415)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

On 10/19/59, NY 694-S* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that in a conversation on 10/16/59 with WILLIAM ALBERTSON, New York State CP Organizational Secretary, ALBERTSON told the informant the following:

Relations between BEN DAVIS and ALBERTSON are at the breaking point: they will not work together. On the previous day, DAVIS told ALBERTSON that the latter was "fired." Relations between DAVIS and ALBERTSON began to deteriorate two days after "BOB"

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (INFO) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (415)
1 - NY 100-128814 (CPUSA - NYD - ORGANIZATION) (416)
1 - NY 100-80638 (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP) (415)
1 - NY 100-128817 (CPUSA - NYD - MEMBERSHIP) (416)
1 - NY 100-132430 (CPUSA - NYD - INDUSTRIAL DIVISION) (42)
1 - NY 100-26603-Sub C42 (NY COUNTY CP) (421)
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (416)
1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)
1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT) (416)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

ACB:msb (415)
(18)

100-80638-1645

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 19 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Waters 415

NY 100-80641

THOMPSON went to jail.

Two years ago, DAVIS openly announced his candidacy for the CP national chairmanship. Today, seeing his chances to achieve his ambition becoming slimmer, DAVIS does not campaign quite so openly for that position. In ALBERTSON's opinion, DAVIS today would be willing to accept a post as second or even third in command of the Party.

DAVIS directs all his energies toward seeking details concerning which he can take issue with the top leadership in the Party. He continually is looking for reasons to blame top leadership for maladministration, particularly in minor matters.

DAVIS feels that he has the support of the counties--particularly Manhattan--and also that he has the unanimous support of the Industrial Division. ALBERTSON believes DAVIS has the unanimous support of Manhattan, but only partial support of the Industrial Division. DAVIS believes he can go to the national convention with the support of at least thirty NY State CP delegates, and that with the support of other districts with which he may be able to "make a deal," he can become national chairman of the Party.

ALBERTSON has told DAVIS that the latter is a good agitator and propagandist, but that he is "no good" as an organizer and administrator. He also told DAVIS that if the latter would restrict his activities to Harlem, he "might become famous." DAVIS did not agree with ALBERTSON.

Despite what GUS HALL may think, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is supporting DAVIS. According to BETTY GANNETT, who recently conferred with FOSTER, the latter proposed that there should be a

NY 100-80641

secretariat consisting of HALL as chairman, and DAVIS and DENNIS having equal secretaryships."

According to ALBERTSON, if the DAVIS-ALBERTSON feud should come out into the open at the NY State CP convention, and result in an open split, the effect on the State and National organizations would be disastrous: People would be disgusted with the obvious lack of a unified leadership, and possibly a thousand members would quit the Party. As far as ALBERTSON is concerned, he will make every effort to avoid such a split in the Party.

If the NY State CP Convention, scheduled for the Thanksgiving week-end, should prove to be "a bad one," to undo the damage of such a convention, there would have to be another convention in March, 1960.

As far as ALBERTSON is concerned, the only solution to the current problem is "to kick BEN DAVIS upstairs."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-18953)

FROM : SA [REDACTED] *JK*

SUBJECT : CP, USA, ILLINOIS
DISTRICT-ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: ~~CLASSIFIED~~

EXTENDED BY 5/180 on 5-17-99

REASON FOR EXTENSION

FOIA, 14, 14.2.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION: ~~0-19-72~~

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on August 10, 1959, orally advised SA [REDACTED] concerning a meeting of the CP of Illinois State Committee held on August 9, 1959, at Chicago, Illinois.

This oral information was written up in narrative report form and subsequently returned to [REDACTED] for his approval and signature. The signed original narrative report will be located in [REDACTED]

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5 - New York (RM)

1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
 1-100- (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
 1-100- (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
 1-100- (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 1-100- (GUS HALL)

2 - San Francisco (RM)

1-100- (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM)
 1-100- (AL LANNON)

44 - Chicago

1 - 61-867 ((CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT))
 1 - 100-644 [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-22435 [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
 1 - 100-18080 (RICHARD CRILEY)
 1 - 100-3303 [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-24020 [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
 1 - 100-3301 (DAVE ENGLESTEIN)
 1 - 100-4031 [REDACTED]
 1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
 1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)

(Copies continued on ii page)

REB:mec

(51)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
 FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
 DATE 01-17-2012

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1 - 100-3720 [redacted]
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1 - 100-8495 (COMINFIL - USWA-CIO)
1 - 100-18952 (CP, USA, ILL. DISTRICT, MEMBERSHIP)
1 - 100-17769 (" " FUND)
1 - 100-18963 (" " FACTIONALISM)
1 - 100-18961 (" " INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - 100-17977 (" " POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100-19431 (" " STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1 - 100-18956 (" " NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - 100-18209 (" " PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
1 - 100-19491 (" " DOMESTIC ADMIN. ISSUES)
1 - 100-22018 (" " SOUTHEAST SECTION)
1 - 100-22011 (" " WAGENKNECHT SECTION)
1 - 100-22012 (" " LIEBER SECTION)
1 - 100-18104 [redacted]

It is to be noted that [redacted] was exhibited photographs of [redacted] on 8/21/59 either of whom were reported by other Chicago informants as tentatively in attendance at this meeting without being able to affect a positive identification. [redacted] stated the photograph of [redacted] more closely resembled the unsub and in view of the fact two other Chicago informants definitely placed [redacted] at this meeting one copy of this report is being channelized to [redacted] file.

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August 10, 1959
Chicago, Illinois

At approximately 10:00 AM on August 9, 1959, there was a meeting of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois State Committee at the Marlu Ballroom, 4003 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois.

The following were in attendance at this meeting:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois
SAM KUSHNER, Vice Chairman, CP of Illinois
[redacted] Executive Secretary, CP of Illinois

MORRIS CHILDS
RICHARD CRILEY
LOU DISKIN
DAVE ENGLESTEIN
[redacted]
FLO HALL
JACK KLING
[redacted]

EARL DURHAM
[redacted]

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A male white individual; thin, balding hair; high forehead; 5'10"-6' tall; middle 30s; 175 lbs.

The agenda for this meeting was:

1. Informational report by SAM KUSHNER on the last meeting of the CP-USA National Committee (NC) (July, 1959).
2. State convention preparations by JIM WEST.
3. Announcements.
4. Good and Welfare, particularly the 40th anniversary celebration of the CP-SU.

KUSHNER opened his remarks by saying that the steel strike is not only an attempt by the steel companies to attack the steel union, it is actually an attack by big business against all unions. The steel union sets the base for many negotiations. The Party must work to get unified action by all unions in order to aid the steel strikers.

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Turning to a new subject, KUSHNER said a new draft political resolution was discussed by both the CP National Executive Committee (NEC) and the CP NC at their last meetings (July, 1959). The resolution was discussed by the NEC and sent to the NC, but since the NC meeting was only three days after the NEC discussion, it was not possible to have the NEC discussion included in a completed draft for the NC. In the NC discussion on the political resolution a letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was read which dealt with the resolution. FOSTER's letter indicated unequivocally that he agreed with the main line of the political resolution. He differed to some degree, however, on the question of peace, the Negro Question and the analysis of the economic situation.

A motion was made by a member of the NC to include this letter in the political resolution; however, after this motion was defeated by the NC, the member asked that his motion be withdrawn and this was done.

This motion was defeated because some people felt to do this would mean that the National Convention would have two documents to consider and this would not be possible. It was finally decided to include FOSTER's letter in the "discussion" on the main political resolution.

KUSHNER avoided dealing with the actual differences between FOSTER's letter and the main resolution other than what he mentioned before. He also said he did not want to go into the details of the main resolution either because he did not have the wording of the document and did not have the amendments to it. Because of this, KUSHNER said he did not feel equipped to discuss it in detail.

(In spite of KUSHNER's statement, some people tried to get him to go into detail on what was in FOSTER's letter. [redacted] and DICK CRILEY, in particular, tried to do this.)

[redacted] asked if it would be possible to get FOSTER's letter printed for the (Illinois) District and the whole Party. No one answered this interruption, but KUSHNER did say that FOSTER's letter was (printed) in a document, but it was only a part of the "discussion" on the main resolution. Someone else, possibly from the Wagenknecht Section, commented that it was too bad that FOSTER, whose wisdom is unmatched, was not consulted before the main resolution was drawn up and had to put his thoughts in a letter.

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KUSHNER stated that although he did not have the amendments to the main report, he would go into that which will be taken up in the amendments. The amendments will concern:

1. The foreign policy.
2. The cycles in the USSR.
3. Problems in the working class struggles in the U.S.
4. Preparation of the membership for unity.
5. Attacks, through suppressive laws, against organized labor.
6. A united front against monopoly.

KUSHNER noted that there was general agreement on points one through four, but there were some differences on point five. A committee is working to more fully explain the resolution. He added that the visit of Vice President NIXON to the Soviet Union and the visit of KHRUSHCHEV to the U.S. are not mentioned in the present document. This marks a qualitative change in the foreign policy of the U.S. and will have to be discussed at length.

KUSHNER reported that the NC resolution on the Negro Question deals with many points, but it was found that it also will have to be rewritten. KUSHNER also said that a smaller committee has been set up to work on the resolution on Party organization and consolidation and the Party's role. KUSHNER said the need for a change in Article V, Section 5, of the CP Constitution was also discussed at the NC meeting.

In speaking of the National Convention, KUSHNER said that it will be held at the Theresa Hotel in New York on December 10 through 13, 1959. Districts which have less than fifty members will have one delegate to the National Convention. There will be nine delegates for those Districts which have up to 300 members. There will be two delegates for each 100 members in a District between 300 and 500, and one delegate for each 75 members over 500 in a District. Alternate delegates will be allowed up to 25% of the regular Convention delegates. "Fraternal" delegates will be invited based on their special work.

There will be an assessment of two months dues per member to cover the cost of the Convention.

In speaking of the changing of Article V, Section 5, of the CP-USA Constitution, KUSHNER said that it has to be rewritten in order to set the Party leadership at the correct level. We will come out of this National Convention with a smaller NC, District Committees and State Boards. It now takes

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\$5,000 to cover the cost of one NC meeting. The Party must become geared to the changed situation.

It will be necessary to have a referendum vote by the entire Party in favor of this in order to change Article V, Section 5.

Prior to the conclusion of his remarks, KUSHNER commented upon the recent Grand Jury indictment of 14 trade union pickets in Illinois for conspiracy. He noted this was the first time that a Grand Jury indictment had been returned for such activity.

He also mentioned the struggle on the west side in which action was being taken against a Negro family who bought a new home on the west side. The Chicago Police had to be called to that neighborhood.

KUSHNER also commented about the request by the Mayor of Gary, Indiana, that the President intervene in the steel strike. He also mentioned the comments of other people that the steel strike should be settled before KHRUSHCHEV arrived for his visit in the U.S. In mentioning KHRUSHCHEV's visit to the U.S., KUSHNER said that there is no doubt that the government will turn loose some anti-Communists to have some adverse demonstrations and heckling under the guise of "free speech". This will be very ugly in comparison to what was shown to (Vice President) NIXON in his visit. These incidents will be used to show KHRUSHCHEV that the American people are united behind the foreign policy of the U.S.

This concluded KUSHNER's report. It was decided to allow five minutes for discussion of the report. In the discussion, the following comments were noted:

MORRIS CHILDS

CHILDS said it was very difficult to discuss KUSHNER's report. It was more or less only informational without any documents because there are such basic changes which have not been analyzed by the Party. He added that one point he wanted to raise is that the foreign policy situation today is changed. We have to be very careful of this situation. We will have to get the expressions of the people regarding peace and co-existence, etc. We will have to go from the realm of the bourgeoisie to the realm of the working class.

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CHILDS noted that the economic climate between the government of the U.S. and the Soviet Union is quite different. They are two extremes--one is on the uprise and the other is on the decline. (This was a reference to the permanently unemployed in the U.S.)

JACK KLING

KLING said that he wanted to raise one point. He thought this District Committee meeting should be arranged differently. There should have been just a brief informational report on the meeting of the NC since the documents discussed were not finalized. We should not have spent so much time on it. We cannot decide on it without the documents.

KLING also felt that we should have done more in the steel situation. We should have done more in this struggle between big business and the labor movement. The steel industry is not only challenging the steel workers. They (steel workers) set the pace for all industry. He thought that the whole situation should be looked into since there is so much to it.

KLING added that he also wanted to address himself to the question of writing letters to the editors of local papers. We should have letters sent to the editors. He noted that many articles appearing in the daily newspapers are not written by pro-labor writers.

DICK CRILEY

CRILEY said there is a limit on what can be done. He wanted to agree with the idea of writing letters to daily newspaper editors. His department had accomplished much with them in the past. He noted that one of his co-workers has dropped everything and become a prolific writer. (This was probably a reference to LEON KATZEN, although he was not named.) He said there is one anti-Communist who just keeps the press crowded with his material. The letters to the editors must be short and to the point.

[redacted]

[redacted] thought that FOSTER's letter should have been incorporated (in the main document) just as he had written it.

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[redacted] stated that he thought the steel strike was of the greatest importance and in the short space of time allotted, he wanted to speak about it. He said that we, some way or other, have to get the labor leaders to express themselves on this. We cannot isolate this problem. We have to remember that we are workers ourselves and our ideas cannot be ignored. The question of the government policy and the attitude of the labor leadership (of the steel strike) will have to be resolved by the Party.

In the present situation we have hit a real stalemate. As far as labor goes, it is a stalemate or is even a retreat.

Imperialism is on the decline while things are increasing in the socialist camp.

[redacted] also mentioned that there will be two important conferences in Chicago in the near future. One is the AFL-CIO convention. The other is a conference on atomic energy. In connection with the latter, there will be a public hearing on October 31, 1959, on atomic warfare. This hearing will be orientated towards getting everyone to have atomic fallout basements. [redacted] wanted the Party to participate in these two conferences, and if they are opened to the public the Party should get other people to participate. Maybe the Party could issue some material on them.

[redacted] thought that Vice President NIXON's experiences in the Soviet Union have enhanced his chances for the Presidency. His status as a Presidential candidate has been enhanced. The Gallup Poll showed his status increased by 8%. b6
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FLO HALL said that she wanted to address herself to the steel situation. At present, the eight points of the company are already being put into effect in the smaller plants. This includes speed-ups and disregard of job status, etc. This is being done in small plants where the workers are organized and unorganized.

She added we will have to start now to mobilize the different unions for real unity with the steel workers. This means assistance in every form; not just statements, but real help. We must work in a way to affect small business people to get them to collect food, etc., or make statements of their feelings. This must result in some material results.

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HALL thought that the fabricating (steel) plants, for example, should raise money and buy food and give it out to the steel workers on the basis of need.

MILT COHEN

COHEN brought up the question of isolation of the Party as the main question of the day. He thought the condition existing today is one in which the Party could make new inroads in welding itself into the working class struggles and could influence working class leadership. Work can be done, not only in the international fields of statesmanship and diplomacy, but also in the field of concrete economic differences that the workers feel today. There is a need to win the labor leadership away from cooperating in the government's foreign policy and war preparations. He added he does not believe the labor leaders know what their role is today because of the government's cold war and anti-labor policy.

[redacted] said he wanted at this time to bring into the discussion some decisions of the State Board dealing with the points to be discussed by the Party units in connection with the coming convention. He stated the Board suggested that letters be written to KHRUSHCHEV and that invitations be extended to him to visit the homes of non-Communist Negroes and workers. Arrangements should be made to have delegations meet KHRUSHCHEV in his line of march who would be carrying signs urging peace. Greetings could also be exchanged between Chicago and Leningrad, the Chicago of the Soviet Union. Even an exchange visit between people from Chicago and people from Leningrad could be suggested.

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DICK CRILEY

CRILEY, speaking for the second time, said he wanted the Board to organize and direct the writing of letters to the papers. He spoke about the number of words which should be included in these letters, etc.

LOU DISKIN

DISKIN raised the question about the fact that the situation today is different from the time when some organization was formed. At that time there was no recognition of the Soviet Union. We have to sit down and discuss with these people and help them orientate in the right direction. They should not be in such opposition to the U.S. Government. The door is more

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open today as a result of cultural exchanges, the ballet and trade fairs, etc.

A point was raised in connection with sending letters to newspaper editors that we should see about getting time on radio and TV stations. If this was not done on the big stations, then the smaller stations could be used.

As the discussion on KUSHNER's report was ended, [redacted] gave his report.

[redacted] read a letter which stated that the Wagenknecht Section had expelled someone. [redacted] next read a letter from the State Board which was addressed to [redacted] which told him to stop corresponding with certain non-Party or former Party members in California, in particular AL LANNON. (This letter to [redacted] had been prepared at the request of the California District which had asked that [redacted] be told to stop writing to these people in that District.)

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There was quite a discussion on this letter. [redacted] and DICK CRILEY, to some extent, led most of the argument. In the end no vote was taken on this point; however, because MORRIS CHILDS pointed out that it would be unprecedented to hold a vote on this type letter.

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[redacted] said that [redacted] had not been given a hearing on this matter. Also, the State Committee did not look into the whole matter. (Someone said that [redacted] and [redacted] are putting [redacted] above the California District and the Illinois District.)

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After a good deal of debate on sending the letter to [redacted] with the State Committee's endorsement, it was finally decided that the endorsement was not necessary. No vote was taken on it. It was decided that the letter would just be sent to [redacted]. At this point, the meeting adjourned for lunch.

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Organization for the Illinois District Convention -
Report by [redacted]

[redacted] stated the convention comes at a time when we are faced with bringing together the experiences of the Party and the experiences of the working class. These views (and experiences) are not limited. They (the Party and the working

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class) are coming together to experience their unlimited views.

Full and frank discussions are to be organized all the way from the Party units to the Section conventions, to the State convention on to the National Convention. In this he meant that the Party would not have a loose, unorganized convention. The best methods to obtain an organized convention are sought.

In speaking of Party organization, [] said that the Party must be prepared in any way that is programmatic and theoretical to deal with factionalism in the many forms which it presents itself because factionalism is the most destructive force in the most valid working class organization--the CP.

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The NC has proposed that the state conventions be held in two sessions. The first session will be prior to the National Convention and will be held to discuss the main resolution and the election of delegates to the National Convention. This should be held about one month before the National Convention. The second session of the District convention will be held after the National Convention, in about January, 1960, and will hear a report on the 17th National Convention and take up the bylaws and election of a State Committee.

There will be a meeting of the NC after the National Convention at which the new NC will be elected if the amendment to Article V, Section 5, of the Constitution is approved. The Districts are to discuss the resolutions and make convention plans, etc., in the period prior to the District convention. There should be a three-month discussion period before the National Convention.

[] mentioned that in all the set-backs and dwindling of the Party they have found that even where there were differences they were still able to maintain membership and even increase it in all countries with the exception of the U.S.

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In announcing the plans for the Illinois District convention [] said that each Community Section will have one delegate for every ten members or fraction thereof, and each Industrial Section will have two delegates for every 15 members or fraction thereof. A Section with less than 15 members will have a delegate at large who will have voting rights. The number of delegates a Section is entitled to is to be decided upon on the basis of dues payments from September, 1958, to October, 1959.

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All Sections are entitled to the full vote of their delegates. That is, if a Section is allowed five delegates, and for some reason only three of them are present when a vote is taken at the Convention, the Section will be allowed five votes. It is anticipated there will be about 80 delegates and 15 alternates at the District convention. There will be some guests also.

[] said that the State Board of the CP of Illinois will issue a draft political resolution and will have it ready by September, 1959. [] immediately objected to this. She said the Board should not issue a draft political resolution because it should come from the State Committee. [] continued saying all resolutions from the Sections are to be turned in one week after the Section conventions no later than November 9, 1959. He noted that all resolutions which are sent in (to the District Convention) no matter whether they are acted upon by the Convention, become the property of the District. The pre-convention discussion period opens officially September 10, 1959, which is three months to the day, before the National Convention.

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[] next announced that on Friday September 11, 1959, there will be a city-wide functionaries meeting. It will be the primary basis for opening up the discussion on the 17th National Convention. This meeting will also deal with the 40th anniversary celebration of the CP-USA which is to be held in Chicago on September 26, 1959. There will be pre-convention discussion bulletins in the next three issues of "Party Affairs". Pre-convention material will also be contained in "The Worker" and in "Political Affairs". Anyone who wants to write pre-convention discussion material for "The Worker" and "Party Affairs", etc. is encouraged to do so. These articles should not be more than 1500 words if they are to be put in "Party Affairs"; 100 word articles will be put in "The Worker". All articles written for these Party publications will have to be submitted between October 5 and November 8, 1959. He noted that all of these articles are to be submitted through the District (leadership.)

The District will prepare special meetings on the resolutions to be taken up by the state convention. These meetings will have to be decided upon by the special committee handling the resolutions sent in to the District by the units and sections. He added Section conventions are to be held between September 26 and November 8, 1959. He proposed that

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no Section Committees be elected until after the state convention. This will be a procedure similar to that proposed for the State and National Convention; that is, that no Section Committees will be elected until after the members of the Section know about the state convention. The resolutions and election of delegates to the state convention should be taken up in the Section conventions. WEST instructed Section Organizers and Section Committees to make plans for an early vote on the referendum pertaining to the changing of Article V, Section 5, of the CP Constitution.

He reiterated that the immediate work for all Sections is the collection of dues and getting a vote on the referendum. Efforts should be made to make sure a maximum vote is taken on the referendum. This should begin in the units and in the Sections immediately.

At this point [redacted] read the referendum in its entirety. Following this, [redacted] made a motion about the election of the NC through a nominating committee set up from the Sections, but this motion was defeated.

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Good and Welfare

WEST announced that the September, 1959, issue of "Political Affairs" will carry an article on the role of the CP-USA.

Also, that the 40th anniversary celebration will be held on September 26, 1959, at the Midwest Hotel, 6 North Hamlin Street. He asked that an advance sale of \$1 tickets be made prior to the celebration in order to guarantee a minimum of 500 people in attendance. GUS HALL will be the main speaker from the National Office. VIPs are to be sent invitations and tickets to the celebration. Special Committees are being set up to get non-Party people to attend to make it a real people's Party celebration.

[redacted] was mentioned as one person who is trying to get people from the arts and sciences to attend the celebration. An entertainment committee, a publicity committee, a ticket committee and a collection committee have already been set up.

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[redacted] the read the quotas for \$5 and \$10 "birthday congratulations" contributions to the celebration from the various Sections. Some of these were as follows:

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Southeast Section	3	\$10	contributions
	5	\$ 5	"
Wagenknecht Section	20	\$10	"
	20	\$ 5	"
Lieber Section	6	\$10	"
	25	\$ 5	"
Miscellaneous	10	\$10	"
	10	\$ 5	"

████████ also stated that 25 new recruits are to be obtained between now and the time of the National Convention. He mentioned that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT has gotten four new recruits already and someone else has one.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-17-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [REDACTED] DATE: 10/26/59

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

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Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED] (who has furnished reliable information in the past)	9/28/59	10/5/59	[REDACTED] (written)	[REDACTED]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

For assistance in reviewing report, a number is parenthesis () following a name or title set forth below will indicate that there is a reference to that name or title on the page or pages whose number will be enclosed in the parenthesis. Where no number is set out, it is suggested that the entire report be reviewed for information on the subject matter.

On 10/5/59, [REDACTED] furnished SA [REDACTED] a reprint of an article from the Moscow News dated 4/9/58 entitled "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in USSR." [REDACTED] said that he received it from GEORGE MEYERS on 9/28/59. The article is being retained in [REDACTED]

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The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

BY [REDACTED] ON 10/26/59
STRIPPED

cc's: See page 1A for copies

Ron
RCN:jmc
(36)

100-80638-1647

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 29 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JMC

BALTIMORE, MD.
OCT. 26, 1959

7's:

7 - New York (Registered Mail)
YOUTH MATTERS (2,3)
ORGANIZATION, CP, USA (2,3)
NEGRO QUESTION (2,3)
WILLIAM PATTERSON (3)
JAMES JACKSON (3)
BENJAMIN DAVIS (3,4,5)
MEMBERSHIP (3)

4 - Philadelphia (Registered Mail)

ORGANIZATION (3)
TOM NABRIED (3)
UNSUB NEGRO WOMAN FROM PHILA. (3)
YOUTH MATTERS (3)

25 - Baltimore

100-18684 [REDACTED] (2,3,5)

100-10584 [REDACTED]

100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS

100-20764 [REDACTED]

100-12412 [REDACTED]

100-18683 [REDACTED]

100-9583 [REDACTED]

100-12175 [REDACTED]

100-12471 [REDACTED]

100-13279 [REDACTED]

100-11386 [REDACTED]

100-160 [REDACTED]

100-10395 [REDACTED]

100-15185 [REDACTED]

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, MD.-D.C.

100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS (1,2,5)

100-11800 BRIEF FILE (1)

100-12462 YOUTH MATTERS (2,3)

100-11640 FUNDS (2,4,5,6)

100-17339 COMINFIL NAACP (4)

100-12458 FACTIONALISM (5,6)

100-12510 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (5)

100-11950 CP STEEL CLUB (5)

100-21140 NEGRO CP CLUB (5)

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[redacted]
RCN: sms

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"Baltimore, Maryland
October 5, 1959

At 8:00 PM, September 28, 1959, [redacted] Negro CP Club member, came to the home of [redacted] Maryland - D. C. CP District Board member. [redacted] said that he had just dropped off for a chat.

[redacted] said that he did not have much time because he expected GEORGE MEYERS, Acting Chairman for the CP District.

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[redacted] asked whether any more had been heard about the CP youth conference. [redacted] said no, and that MEYERS, although to a CP conference in New York recently, had not mentioned anything about it.

JOHNSON then said that he had talked to MEYERS the previous week concerning a contact by MEYERS with [redacted]

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[redacted] said he had seen [redacted] and the latter was interested in seeing MEYERS. [redacted] said he wanted to see MEYERS and arrange for a conference between MEYERS and [redacted]

[redacted] said he also wanted to talk to MEYERS about his draft status since he had recently been classified IV-F.

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[redacted] then sold [redacted] a set of two volumes concerning correspondence between FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL and STALIN just after World War II. JOHNSON said he would pay the \$2.00 on September 30, 1959.

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[redacted] then left at about 8:10 PM.

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[redacted] then went out briefly, returning at 8:25 PM. Upon his return he found MEYERS and [redacted] CP District Board member, at his home.

MEYERS said to [redacted] that [redacted] had attended a CP Eastern Coast conference held in New York, September 26-27, 1959. MEYERS said that [redacted] thought the discussion at the meetings was good and had noted that more Negroes had attended than were present at the last East Coast conference.

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[redacted]

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[redacted] then said that two points were discussed thoroughly at the East Coast conference: 1) Organizational perspectives, and 2) Negro question. [redacted] said that seven Negroes had been in attendance, including five men and two women. He added that WILLIAM PATTERSON and JAMES JACKSON were also present.

[redacted] then said that he spoke to TOM NABRIED from Philadelphia and noted that a young Negro woman from Philadelphia was also present.

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[redacted] then asked if anything was discussed concerning youth. [redacted] said no.

[redacted] then pointed out that [redacted], Negro CP Club member, and [redacted] were interested since they had heard no more concerning youth since they had attended a CP youth conference in New York several months ago.

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[redacted] then commented that the young Negro woman from Philadelphia had spoken briefly with regard to a youth movement, but nothing came of her talk.

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Upon inquiry from [redacted] said that the meeting had lasted from 10:00 AM to 6:00 PM on Saturday and from 10:00 AM to 1:30 PM on Sunday.

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Upon inquiry from [redacted] said that BENJAMIN DAVIS had not attended.

Upon inquiry from [redacted] said that a fairly good sized group had attended, with Philadelphia having at least nine persons present.

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Upon inquiry from [redacted] said that everyone participated in the discussions, and it appeared that there was a healthy picture of CP activity from all areas, in particular with regard to building the Party by addition of Negroes.

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[redacted] said it had been decided that the next East Coast conference would be held in March, 1960, the thought being that all CP Districts should discuss the subjects discussed at the last East Coast conference in the interim.

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[redacted]

[redacted] then pointed out that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Baltimore planned to hold a Labor Committee meeting October 1, 1959, at 1234 Druid Hill Avenue, NAACP headquarters. [redacted] said that [redacted] was the Chairman.

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MEYERS then said that it was important for all CP members who could attend to go to the Labor Committee meeting.

[redacted] said that was true but did not believe white men such as [redacted], CP Steel Club member, and [redacted] [redacted] CP Steel Club Chairman, should attend unless they were invited by letter. He added that perhaps this invitation could be arranged.

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[redacted] then said that it appeared that the NAACP was planning a labor program for October 18, 1959, to be called "All Labor Day."

MEYERS then said that he would like to attend the October 18, 1959, meeting.

MEYERS then said that [redacted] had visited him and advised him that he, [redacted], had recently visited [redacted], who said that she was going to send a letter to BENJAMIN DAVIS, national CP leader, criticizing MEYERS and [redacted] for not visiting her after she had applied to the CP for help in behalf of [redacted] a young Baltimore Negro who had been indicted for raping a white woman.

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MEYERS then said that [redacted] had called him after visiting [redacted] recently and advised MEYERS that [redacted] had told [redacted] that she wanted \$200.00 from the CP locally to help [redacted] MEYERS said he told [redacted] that he had no money and if [redacted] wanted to raise money for [redacted] she should try to reactivate former CP members in the East Baltimore area and get them to raise the money. MEYERS then added that the CP in Baltimore couldn't afford to hand out that much money.

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[redacted]

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[redacted] then said that he did not care whether [redacted] wrote to DAVIS or not, and that he had worked with [redacted] but found her uncooperative.

MEYERS then took out a piece of paper which bore typing on it, stating that this was a leaflet prepared by [redacted] CP Trade Union Commission Chairman, and [redacted] Negro CP Club Chairman, to be distributed among rank and file workers at the Bethlehem Baltimore Shipyard. MEYERS said he had attended a CP meeting held September 22, 1959, at [redacted] when the leaflet was typed. He asked [redacted] to look at it and tell him what [redacted] thought of it.

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[redacted] read it and said he did not think much of it since it did not have a great deal of spirit. [redacted] then said that he was glad [redacted] agreed with him and MEYERS.

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MEYERS then handed the paper to [redacted] who turned it back to him, saying that he had not been appointed to the committee which drew it up. MEYERS then threw the paper on the table, directing [redacted] to give it to [redacted]

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[redacted] then said that he was in disagreement with several things being done, in particular [redacted] being a member of two CP clubs, the Steel Club and the Negro Club. [redacted] said he had talked to [redacted] and the latter did not want to be a Steel Club member because [redacted] and [redacted], CP Steel Club Secretary, were always arguing and not being active.

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[redacted] said he was also dissatisfied with the manner in which the CP clubs were collecting money, and that two or more people were making collections and there were too many people handling the money. He said he was also dissatisfied with MEYERS because the latter frequently changed the dates of meetings.

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[redacted] and MEYERS both admitted that [redacted] was correct on his points of criticism.

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[redacted] then said that he had recently reprimanded [redacted] for lack of activity and failure

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[redacted]

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to pay their CP dues promptly.

MEYERS and [redacted] left at about 9:20 PM."

This memo has been compared with informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 3

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